Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-93-212 *4 November 1993*

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Stoltenberg Rejects Tudjman Peace Proposal

LD0311170093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1617 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, November 3 (TANJUG)—Co-chairman of the conference on former Yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg rejected the initiative of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on urgent convening of the conference on the war-afflicted former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I do not expect the conference to be called this year, said Stoltenberg Wednesday [3 November] at a press conference in Stockholm and added that at this time there were no elements to renew the peace talks, the western news agencies reported.

He said he much regretted the decision of the Bosnian Moslems to turn down the Geneva peace agreement. He recalled that this agreement was accepted two months ago by the Bosnian Serbs and Croats, and that the Bosnian Moslem refusal invited clashes, especially in central Bosnia-Herzegovina between Moslems and Croats.

The Geneva peace agreement, rejected by the Bosnian Moslems, envisaged creating a union of three republics—Moslems, Serb and Croat.

Stoltenberg unveiled five basic conditions for renewal of the Geneva talks, that is, convening a new conference. According to him, the conference must first of all be very well prepared, there must be a draft peace plan, and a draft international plan for renewal and revival of the war-ravaged country, and a plan for long- term humanitarian effort to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

One of the conditions, he said, was also a draft plan for lifting sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.).

The U.N. Security Council imposed in late May last year severe political and economic sanctions against the F.R.Y. over its alleged involvement in the civil war between the Bosnian Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

As regards the secret talks between Croatia and the Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K. —a state local Serbs proclaimed on parts of the territory of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia), held over the past three days in oslo, Stoltenberg was categorical that they cannot be compared with the secret Israeli-Palestinian talks, which ended in an agreement between Israel and the PLO after 14 rounds of talks.

Asked whether he would, in this context, meet this week in Oslo with the presidents of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic and Croatia Franjo Tudjman, Stoltenberg said he had no plans to meet with them in the near future.

More details about the secret Serb-Croatian talks in Norway came from Stoltenberg's deputy Knut Wollebaek, who chaired the talks. Wollebaek, as the agencies reported, confirmed that 'silent' diplomacy this time failed to bear fruit and that the talks were interrupted.

The secret talks between Croatia and the R.S.K. in Oslo on ending hostilities and on economic cooperation were wrecked Tuesday, at a time when the two sides reached maximum accord, by Croatian President Tudjman, who sent a despatch ordering the Croatian delegation to treat the R.S.K. as part of the Croatian state and the communications and economic facilititwes in the R.S.K. as part of the Croatian economic system, something the Serb side categorically rejected.

We were close to reaching ceasefire accord, said Wollebaek and added that he was hopeful despite everything. He said the (Serb-Croatian) talks would continue, but not here and not today.

Berisha Briefs French Minister on Policies

AU0311181993 Tirana ATA in English 0916 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 3 (ATA)— In the meeting with the French minister, Lamassoure, President Berisha stressed that relations between Albania and France should develop further. In this direction, Mr. Berisha said, we would welcome your influence in encouraging French investors, in creating the legal basis for bilateral relations in order to facilitate investment and exchanges. We should also like to have a closer cooperation with France in the political and other aspects.

Regarding the situation in Kosova, President Berisha said, I may say that Milosevic's solution to this problem is that of Serbian police repression and finally of dialogue with elements, which you, French people, have considered collaborationists and we, Albanians, as sold out. When I say this, I want to confirm that I am for a real dialogue which may be conducted only with the elected representatives of the political forces of the Albanians in Kosova in the presence of a third party.

President Rugova and other representatives of the DLK, of the Peasant, Social Democratic, Christian Democratic and other parties, forces which are led by individuals and personalities whom the Albanians have full faith in, are the legitimate leaders of Kosova.

The solution of the problem of Kosova, Mr. Berisha stressed, is a condition for the solution of the Balkan crisis. In this regard, we insist that any facilitation for the embargo against Serbia is a direct encouragement for Milosevic to spread the conflict wider.

Although embargoed, at present, Serbia spends about 35 per cent of the gross national product in support of the aggression in Bosnia and of the military regime in the country. To facilitate the embargo means to give a direct support to Serbian occupying acts and to make more difficult the solution of the question. We insist that the Security Council should condition the sanctions against Serbia on a solution to the question in Kosova. We also hold that through his electoral performace, Milosevic intends to create through force a support for himself and his party in order to continue the aggression. Legitimacy for the December elections, bearing in mind the conditions when they will take place, is a support of the aggressive course of the Serbian dictator. He has used frequent elections that he has always provoked to realize this objective and to weaken the Serbian opposition.

Albanians, a seven-million people divided in several states, have been admirably patient, President Berisha said further on. But if their question had not been taken into consideration, it would have been a mistake of catastrophic consequences. We are resolute to work together to prevent the conflict in the region, but we also demand that the Albanian question should be seriously considered by France and the international community. Our objective has been to establish friendly relations with Greece, considering these relations important both for us and the region. But unfortunately, all these efforts were not only not welcomed but they were refused through a policy which aimed at increasing tension and helping Milosevic in the region. In the context of this policy, Greece is going on with the "Broom" operation, which consists of expelling, maltreating, killing up to tumbling of the Albanians. [sentence as received]

It uses the Greek minority in Albania as a factor for conflict. For this purpose, after many statements showing that it was pleased with the situation, the Greek side has stated that the Greek minority in Albania is oppressed, going so far as saying that the minority felt better under Enver Hoxha. The truth is quite the opposite. It has been completely presented in the report of the CSCE senior commissioner, Mr. Van Der Stoel. We may say that we are for the observation of the highest standards for the minorities, as well as we shall unhesitatingly oppose the Hellenistic tendencies and Hellenic expansion so clearly expressed in the statements of some Greek politicians. In these conditions, Albania is resolute for a correct neighborliness with Greece which, we think, is necessary for the two countries and the region.

Mr. Lamassoure said that France has an historical and moral responsibility towards Albania, therefore it will support Albania's integration into Europe and its institutions. France has helped Albania, he said, but it should make more in the future. France is ready to sign with Albania the treaty of friendship and cooperation which will serve as a basis for the development of bilateral relations, as well as other documents which encourage economic exchanges.

Mr. Lamassoure said that Albania has fulfilled all conditions for membership in the Council of Europe and it must be admitted in it.

He appreciated the observation of the embargo by Albania and the policy of the Albanian state towards the question of Kosova. He informed that the French Government has extended an official invitation to Mr. Rugova.

Lamassoure Comments on Kosovo

AU0311182393 Tirana ATA in English 1110 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 3 (ATA)—"I have come to Albania to give a new impetus to relations between Albania and France," the French minister delegate for European questions, Alain Lamassoure, said in his press conference of November 2 at the end of his one-day visit to Albania. Mr. Lamassoure said that at present the economic, political, and cultural relations between the two countries have not yet reached their traditional level. He said that he has come to Albania as a member of the French Government and at the same time as a member of the Council of Europe. Mr. Lamassoure said that France is ready to help Albania in the process of

integration into the Council of Europe (for which Albania has already made official application), into the Union of Western Europe, and into the European Community. "The Albanian Government has chosen the road of democracy, market economy, and orientation toward Europe. Hence, France is ready to help Albania to achieve these three goals," Lamassoure said.

He said that in the talks he had had with the Albanian authorities they confirmed the general agreements between the two countries, that French capital would be provided to Albania to be used in roads, other infrastructure, tourism, mines, and the agricultural and food industries. The French minister also said that he had talked with the Albanian premier about specific projects and agreements in the field of health and humanitarian aid. Mr. Lamassoure said that his government will increase assistance in training the members of central and local administrations in Albania.

Regarding Albanian emigrants' access to France and Europe in general, Lamassoure said that "The future of the Albanians should be in Albania." He added that "the EC will help Albania just as it has helped the southern European countries. The Albanians should find their future in Albania."

Asked whether he believes in a global solution to the problems of former Yugoslavia and about the position of France regarding Kosova, Mr. Lamassoure replied that after the abortive efforts to implement the Vance and Owen plan, the idea of a global solution has been launched and the future will show what this proposal will yield. He said that France knows that beyond Bosnia-Herzegovina there is Kosova, which presents the potential for a serious crisis not only for the Balkans but for all of Europe.

"We are worried over the expulsion of the international observers, the violation of human rights in Kosova, and we believe that international pressure to reduce tension must continue."

Mr. Lamassoure said that on November 4 the French Government will receive President Rugova in Paris to discuss the situation.

Asked about his opinion on the Aleanca Demokratike Party, Mr. Lamassoure said that visiting French ministers meet not only with members of the government of their host countries, but also with the parliamentary opposition. He said that in Albania he observed that, as in other countries with stabilized democracy, the political forces have largely found consensus in the relations among themselves.

Border Guard Commander Sentenced for Killing Escapees

AU0211175593 Tirana ATA in English 0908 GMT 2 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 1 (ATA)— The Shkoder District Court recently convicted Engjel Toma, former commander of the Rrushkull border point in the Dajci zone and sentenced him to 10 year imprisonment for having killed 6 persons and wounded 3 others during the period from April 21 to December 20, 1990.

This is the first conviction for those who carried out the order issued under the communist regime to use deadly force against those who attempted to cross the border illegally.

Although trials of the underlings guilty of such crimes have started, judicial processes have not yet been initiated against those high up in the hierarchy who gave the order to shoot to kill, beginning with former President Ramiz Alia, the former minister of the interior, Hekuran Isai, and others.

Contraband Destined for Montenegro Confiscated

AU0211175793 Tirana ATA in English 0906 GMT 2 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 1 (ATA)—The Financial Police of Shkoder took possession of 112 barrels containing about 23,000 liters of kerosene destined for Montenegro on October 27 and 28. The contraband trade in fuel violates the embargo imposed on Serbia and Montenegro by international community.

Berov Dismisses Deputy Defense Minister Tomov

AU0211125993 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 27 Oct 93 p 2

[Report by Boryana Petrova: "Deputy Prime Minister Matinchev Heads Interdepartmental Council on Military Industrial Complex Issues"]

[Text] On 26 October the first meeting of the Interdepartmental Council on Military Industrial Complex Issues took place. The council adopted a decision on its composition, the Press Center of the Council of Ministers reports. Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev is the council's chairman. Ivan Kolev, who was employed until now by the Elektron Consortium, is deputy chairman in charge of the arms trade. The other deputy chairman is Khristo Tomov from the Ministry of Defense, who will be in charge of mobilization capacities. Vasil Vasilev from Balkancar is the council's secretary. Deputy ministers of industry, finance, trade, foreign affairs, internal affairs, transportation, and territorial development, as well as members of the General Staff, are members of the Council.

A source from the Ministry of Defense told KONTINENT that Deputy Defense Minister Khristo Tomov has been relieved of his post. Prime Minister Berov signed the decree on 22 October, after first coordinating this with Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov.

According to the source, the court decision to restore Georgi Yordanov to the post deputy minister of defense was only the formal reason of dismissing Tomov. He claims that the real reason was related to serious violations on Tomov's part. Those violations include behind-the-scene interference in the arms business sphere. Tomov concluded a contract with the Teraton Shareholder Association without consulting Defense Minister Aleksandrov first, thus actually transferring to this company the Defense Ministry's rights to trade in arms. During a special visit to Moscow, Tomov recommended that the Russian partners in the arms trade send their offers to Teraton's address, thus affording this company, obviously preferred by the deputy defense minister, the possibility of eliminating its competitors from Kintex and Armimex.

According to the source, on 22 October, Tomov was summoned to the Council of Ministers, where he was informed about the change in his official status.

UN Delegate Declares Support for IAEA

AU0311215493 Sofia BTA in English 1930 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] New York, November 3 (BTA)—At the ongoing 48th session of the UN General Assembly, a Bulgarian delegate made a statement on the report of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). He stressed the important role IAEA plays for the prevention of nuclear weapons proliferation and for promotion of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

"Bulgaria supports the indefinite and unconditional renewal of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons in 1995," the statement says.

The speaker stressed the need for all countries to honour strictly their commitments arising from the nonproliferation treaty and the safeguards agreements with IAEA.

The Bulgarian delegate also discussed some current issues of the IAEA's activity: improvement of the agency's safeguards system, the IAEA's participation in a system for verification of compliance with a prospective nuclear test ban treaty, a ban on production of weapons-grade plutonium and enriched uranium, etc.

Bulgaria is in a process of building its own system for control on import and export of nuclear materials, consistent with the new international requirements, the delegate said.

On behalf of Bulgaria, he thanked the IAEA, the European Community and the World Bank, as well as the Governments of France, the United Kingdom, the United States and some other countries for their financial and technical assistance for an enhancement of the radiation and seismic safety of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant.

Aleksandrov Addresses Royal College of Strategic Studies

WA0311194293

For text of lecture by Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov, entitled "Opportunities for a New Beginning," delivered at the Royal College of Strategic Studies in the United Kindgom on 27 October, see the United Kingdom section of the 4 November issue of the WEST EUROPE Daily Report.

Prime Minister Klaus on Maastricht Treaty

LD0211221693 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1715 GMT 2 Nov 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by correspondents Vaclav Musilek and Katerina Kasparova; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[Musilek] The first few hours of the [existence] of the Maastricht treaty on the European Union are being watched with careful optimism as well as with considerable hesitation. [passage omitted]

[Klaus] I do not think this is the right time to assess the long-term chances of implementing the Maastricht treaty. What is perhaps more necessary is to say something about whether anything changed or not on 1 November 1993 when the Maastricht treaty was finally ratified by all the countries of the European Twelve.

My view is that this step, this moment, was really just a formal one. By taking this step Europe has not come closer to a political union, it has not come closer to the unification of foreign policy, it has not come closer to common currency and other things which are envisioned by the Maastricht treaty. In this sense I think that from a realistic point of view 1 November 1993 simply does not mean a clear turning point. Europe is still going to struggle for a long time in order to really implement some of the elements I have just mentioned, be it in the form exactly envisioned by Maastricht, be it in the form to emerge in future as the product of politicians' realism and pragmatism. [passage omitted]

Havel: Reform of State Administration Necessary

LD0411061293 Prague CTK in English 2252 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Mikulov, South Moravia, Nov 3 (CTK) - Czech President Vaclav Havel said today he believed that a fundamental reform of the state administration and self-administration was necessary and it should be launched before the local elections slated for autumn 1994.

Speaking to journalists during his visit here, Havel said he was afraid that if the reform were not launched, the issue would be politicised and would develop into a protracted painful problem.

Havel refused to voice categorical judgements on Moravia's future administrative and territorial arrangement. He said that most political forces in the country preferred Moravia's division into three regions.

In this moment, it seems to me that it would be more fortunate for Moravia to be divided into three higher territorial units, not into five, as is also considered, Havel stated.

With the Mikulov visit, Havel ended his two-day trip to the Breclav district, during which he showed interest in the current problems of agriculture, the privatisation process in the agriculture sphere and this sphere's prospects.

New Foreign Policy Bodies Established

LD0311221993 Prague CTK in English 1917 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 3 (CTK)—Tuesday's talks between the government coalition parties on coordination of foreign political activities resulted in the establishment of a top-level 11-member consultative body and a standing working group attached to the Foreign Ministry.

Speaking with CTK, the press spokesman for the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), Jan Rejzek, said that the consultative body, which he called a coalition-constitutional body, comprised President Vaclav Havel, Premier and Chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Vaclav Klaus, Defence Minister Antonin Baudys, Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec, Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Parliament Milan Uhde, Chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Committee Jiri Payne, Foreign Minister Deputies Alexandr Vondra and Pavel Bratinka, Deputy Premier and ODA Chairman Jan Kalvoda, Deputy Premier and Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) Josef Lux and Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) Vaclav Benda.

The standing group is composed of members of the coalition parties - the ODS, KDU-CSL, ODA and KDS - employed at the Foreign Ministry: Zieleniec, Bratinka (ODA), Director of the Slovak Department Vilem Holan (KDU-CSL) and Head Director of the Foreign Minister's Office Michal Lobkowitz (KDS).

Czech foreign policy has been criticised by some coalition representatives, opposition parties and the press for not being coordinated between the president, the government and the parliament.

Comments by New Head of CESKY DENIK

AU0311215193

[Editorial Report] Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech on 1 November on page 3 carries a 600-word article by Frantisek Kostlan, the daily's new chief editor, entitled "A Word About Newspapers." In the article, Kostlan affirms the continuation of CESKY DENIK's right-wing orientation after recent changes in the newspaper's editorial staff.

After informing the readers about the rubrics and features that he intends to maintain, modify, or introduce, Kostlan says: "In connection with the departure of the former leadership of the CESKY DENIK editorial office, reports have appeared in CTK, on the second channel of Czech Television, and on some radio stations

that the publisher was hiring, or intended to hire, people from among the staff of NECENZUROVANE NOVINY [Uncensored News, a periodical noted for its radical anti-communist views] and that CESKY DENIK would supposedly turn into an extreme and radical ultra-right-wing tabloid. Your favorite newspaper is facing no such threat. It will continue to move within the framework of the democratic right-wing spectrum, with only one change: Greater scope will be provided for the views of exponents of democratic conservative and liberal thinking.

"CESKY DENIK will continue to uphold and support the transformation of society and its present orientation, as well as the political parties that have pushed through and implemented this transformation. By support we mean, apart from well-intended criticism, also the provision of sufficient room on our pages for information on their activities, official opinions, and the views of specific personalities."

Statistical Office Reports Export, Import Figures

LD0411055793 Prague CTK in English 2329 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 3 (CTK)—The volume of Czech exports (except for Slovakia) increased by 15.7 per cent over the past nine months, according to the latest data of the Czech Statistical Office, which CTK obtained today.

The increase accelerated from 12.6 per cent in the first quarter of the year to 19.8 per cent in the third quarter. Over 80 per cent of Czech exports go to countries with a market economy, 55 per cent to European Community countries and 27 per cent to Germany. Czech exports to Slovakia in the same period dropped by 11.2 per cent and constituted only 21 per cent of the Czech Republic's overall exports.

The volume of imports (excepting Slovakia) grew by 17 per cent in the first nine months of the year, and imports from Slovakia dropped by 14.2 per cent, making up 18.4 per cent of the Czech Republic's imports in three quarters of the year. The Czech Republic' s overall imports including those from Slovakia increased over that period by 9.7 per cent.

Despite the more rapid growth of imports against exports, the Czech Republic achieved a trade surplus of 7.8 billion crowns (about 260 million USD) , 6.8 billion of which in trade with Slovakia and less than one billion in trade with other countries.

The foreign exchange reserves in Czech banks increased from 3.6 billion USD at the end of last year to 5.8 billion USD by September 30, 1993.

Kovac Says One Ministerial Post Remains Disputed

AU0311134193 Prague CTK in English 1947 GMT 31 Oct 93

[Text] Bratislava, Oct 31 (CTK)— The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS) agreed on almost all personnel questions except the filling of one ministerial office during today's fourth round of coalition talks, Slovak Radio quoted Deputy Premier and HZDS Deputy Chairman Roman Kovac as saying.

Kovac did not say what ministerial post was concerned. According to information CTK obtained from SNS Deputy Chairman Anton Hrnko, the Health Ministry headed by Viliam Sobona could be the one.

Kovac said that today's coalition talks were interrupted by Slovak Premier and HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar's departure on other business and will continue Monday [1 November] morning.

Apart from Meciar and Kovac, Ivan Gasparovic and Roman Zelenay from the HZDS and SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak, Peter Sokol, Marian Vrabec, and Jozef Prokes from the SNS participated in the talks.

Names of New Ministers Revealed

LD0311144993 Prague CTK in English 1248 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, November 3 (CTK)—Despite being kept secret by both sides, information has leaked out concerning the proposed cabinet changes to be made by the new coalition between the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS), the independent daily "NARODNA OBRODA" writes today.

The paper says that the one new minister will fill the post of economics minister which Jaroslav Kubecky is to leave. The hot candidate is Jozef Ducky, chairman of the Slovak Industrial Association.

A compromise decision has been made on the position which has caused most dispute, that of health minister. It will be kept by Viliam Sobona for another three months, which some people point out is exactly the time it will take to complete the privatisation of the lucrative spa industry.

Julius Toth will be both finance minister and deputy premier for economics, the latter jointly with Sergei Kozlik head of the economic section of the government office who will oversee economic transformation. Jozef Prokes will be deputy premier for integration into European structures, and Marian Andel deputy premier for education, science, youth and sport. Roman Kovac will remain first deputy premier, responsible for social policy. "NARODNA OBRODA" adds that the coalition parties have also agreed on an education minister, but does not give a name.

Opposition Parties React to Coalition Talks

AU0311133993 Prague CTK in English 2116 GMT 1 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava Nov 1 (CTK)—The Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS) have found a modus vivendi, which might lead their current coalition talks out of the stalemate, Slovak Television quoted today SNS Honorary Chairman Jozef Prokes as saying.

Prokes was referring to the anticipated replacement of the post of health minister, which is considered a controversial point in the staffing of the coalition government envisaged after the October 19 signing of a coalition agreement between the two parties.

Slovak Radio quoted Peter Weiss, chairman of the Democratic Left Party (SDL), as saying that the HZDS-SNS coalition talks mainly centered on filling government seats, instead of the government programme and policy to settle economic and social problems.

Slovak Radio also quoted Bela Bugar, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH), who said that the failure of the coalition partners to agree yet on the composition of the reconstructed government indicated to who would continue to direct the internal political developments in Slovakia. SNS representatives make no secret of their personal ambitions regarding the new government's composition. However, the HZDS does not want them to take the key ministerial seats.

Jaroslav Volf, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia (SDSS), told Slovak Radio that the people were expecting the government's reconstruction, but far more they were awaiting a change in its policy. The struggle for political power is linked to attaining the capital and information monopoly, and therefore it is not by chance that the establishment of a parliamentary committee to check the privatisation is being delayed, Volf said.

Referring to the current struggle for control over the Slovak media, Volf said he was not even surprised that a HZDS-SNS mini-coalition had emerged in the Slovak Television Council, although it was the body charged to oversee television's independence.

In an October 26 secret parliamentary vote, in which seven new members were elected to the Slovak Television Council, all the elected candidates were HZDS and SNS members.

Kovac Sees NATO Membership 'Top Priority'

BR0311154793 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 3 Nov 93 p 5

[Interview with President Michal Kovac, by Christine Dupre, in Prague, date not given: "Joining NATO Constitutes Slovak Priority—Mr. Kovac, Visiting Brussels, Understands Western Reticence"]

[Text] *Slovak President Michal Kovac will be in Brussels on 3 and 4 November. During his meetings with [Belgian Foreign Minister] Willy Claes, [European Commission President] Jacques Delors, and [NATO Secretary General] Manfred Woerner, he will probably argue the case for Slovakia's inclusion in the EC and NATO, thus trying to attenuate the effect caused by the declarations made by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. Level-headed Michal Kovac, a 63-year-old trained economist, is today the only president in Central Europe to maintain close links with his government. Having come to power after rising through the ranks of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), he is now trying to play a moderating role.*

[Dupre] To what degree is it possible for you to exert a moderating influence on Mr. Meciar? Have you already scored some successes?

[Kovac] I prefer to speak of the stabilization of the government and of Slovak political life in general, rather than use the term moderation. For example, before coming to Brussels I consulted all the political parties represented in parliament on the questions concerning NATO and the WEU [Western European Union]. I am also going to hear their opinion at a round table devoted to matters concerning our Hungarian and gypsy ethnic minorities and will subsequently submit it to the representatives of the relevant communities. I see my role as that of a mediator between our citizens and politicians, i.e., someone who also aims to encourage the development of good neighborly relations with the other countries in the region.

Bilingual Signs

[Dupre] Can you do this without entering into conflict with the government? For instance, you described the decision to withdraw Hungarian traffic signs in the region where there is a large Hungarian-speaking community as "stupid."

[Kovac] What I meant was that this particular measure was unnecessary, bearing in mind the fact that we had decided to settle the matter in the future by setting up bilingual signs. Mr. Hofbauer (Slovak minister of transport,ed.) was certainly within his rights to withdraw any illegal inscriptions, but, as far as I am aware, his initiative did not arouse much enthusiasm on the part of the prime minister either. We need to learn to coordinate our actions better.

[Dupre] Do you think that the new coalition government, which includes the Slovak National Party (SNS), will succeed in stabilizing the situation, both in domestic terms and with regard to foreign affairs? Is there not a danger of a drift toward nationalism in Slovakia?

[Kovac] The SNS has matured. Today it is becoming a modern right-wing party, with a manifesto very similar to that of the HZDS. The support that it contributes will give the government the parliamentary majority that it had lost, enabling it to push ahead with its economic reform and the construction of a democracy.

Conciliation

[Dupre] The climate vis-a-vis Slovakia and its neighbor, Hungary, seems to be one of conciliation. You have signed a military cooperation agreement; there is talk of a treaty stipulating official recognition of the border, etc. What is the reason for this renewed warmth in your relations?

[Kovac] First of all, there never was a genuinely confrontational climate. Second, the question of the Gabcikovo Dam was depoliticized by its submission before the International Court of Justice in The Hague. As for the fate of the minorities living on both sides of the Slovak-Hungarian border, this is currently the object of a survey commissioned by an intergovernmental committee. At the Council of Europe summit in Vienna, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenski confirmed that he intended to come to Slovakia this month to negotiate the principles underlying the official recognition of our shared border. These are the positive points, which often go unnoticed abroad as a result of the efforts on the part of our Hungarian minorities to remain "visible." (Smiles, ed.). They are merely being somewhat impatient.

Nonetheless, last month Mr. Meciar declared that "a Greater Hungary was more dangerous than a Greater Serbia."

[Kovac] A distinction must be drawn between the irresponsible voices clamoring in Budapest for a return to a Greater Hungary, and the men in government who, in my opinion, are reasonable people. My belief is that we both know that neither the European Community nor NATO are ready to welcome any new members who would be incapable of putting an end to their quarrels.

Democracies in Danger

[Dupre] With regard to Slovakia's inclusion in these structures, how do you order your priorities? Are you as impatient to join NATO as presidents Havel and Walesa?

[Kovac] I would even go so far as to say that for me NATO, and its guarantee of security, is my top priority. I am concerned about the situation in Russia and Ukraine: If the democrats fail to survive there, then our democracies will also be endangered. On the one hand, I consider it normal for things to be taking some time. It was only four years ago that we emerged from a bipolar world. Since then everything has happened so fast. I also understand why the West is reluctant to make any decisions that might render the position of those favoring democratic reforms in Russia more difficult. However, at the same time, the lack of a guarantee for the future is creating a climate of insecurity in Central Europe. We have not forgotten the occasions in the past when we waited in vain for the West to come to our aid,

and we would not want history to repeat itself. As for the European Community—or should I say the European Union—we are aware of the economic and political conditions that we have to fulfil before we can gain entry. The treaty of association that we have just signed constitutes a first step, but it is nevertheless sprinkled with suspensive clauses over 10 or 12 years.

Defense Ministry Official on Cooperation With PRC

LD0311203893 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] The visit of representatives of the Slovak Defense Ministry to China should, as originally planned, have taken place only after talks were held between representatives of other departments in that country. The situation, however, developed in such a way that a delegation headed by Igor Urban, State secretary of the Slovak Ministry of Defense, made our country's first official visit to China. In an interview given to our reporter Stella Hanzelova, Igor Urban pointed out how that factor marked the talks:

[Begin recording] [Urban] China perhaps expected that official visits by delegation of other departments would precede our own visit. Nonetheless, they accepted our visit very gladly and the talks were conducted, I would say, in a friendly rather than a pragmatic mode.

[Hanzelova] How do they look on the activities that are developing in Europe before the NATO summit?

[Urban] One has to say that the Chinese side by itself did not touch on that issue, and when we opened the issue it adopted a very restrained attitude to it. In the course of the first day of my visit I met in Beijing General Nikolayev, deputy chief of the general staff of the Russian Army, who according to my information was there precisely in connection with preparing the meeting between Defense Minister Grachev and the Chinese minister of national defense. It is envisaged that agreements will be concluded between the Chinese and Russian defense ministries.

[Hanzelova] You wanted to promote the Slovak arms industry, or rather a modernization of some weapons systems. You also mentioned cooperation in providing facilities for the training of Chinese Air Force pilots. What kind of response did your offers elicit, and what did the Chinese offer to you?

[Urban] The Chinese side noted these offers with interest and pledged itself to express its views on them within the framework of the visit to our country in December of representatives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. At the same time we, of course, put forward further proposals for possible cooperation, such as an exchange of recreational facilities and exchange of students. The Chinese side expressed interests in such exchanges during the talks and said that such cooperation would help our armes and nations to get to know each other.

[Hanzelova] One could therefore say that realistic opportunities for cooperation have become outlined for the expected visit in December of the Chinese army delegation to Slovakia?

[Urban] The Chinese side indicated that the delegation would not have a mandate for direct resolution of issues, but would gather material for further possible proposals from the Chinese side for cooperation between both armed forces.

I would like to say in conclusion that during our meeting with the Chinese defense minister we expressed an invitation from our minister to the Chinese, and that the Chinese minister repeated that invitation. [end recording]

Antall Gives Interview From Cologne

AU0411102993 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Nov 93 p 3

[MTI report: "Jozsef Antall Interview on The Week—The Prime Minister Stressed the Independence of the Media"]

[Text] "When I cross the border and I am abroad, the interior minister replaces me. He is primarily responsible for executive tasks, operative control over the government, and solving political issues. Thus, I cannot reduce this responsibility with any other influences"—Jozsef Antall pointed out when Chief Editor Istvan G. Palfy asked him, during a telephone interview from Cologne, to what extent he shares the debates going on in Parliament or outside Parliament, like the debate currently going on in Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television. At the same time, Jozsef Antall pointed out that a prime minister can never stop participating in the affairs of its government during his premiership. As he put it, he is breathing together with the government in every respect.

In the course of the interview, broadcast on The Week program of the Hungarian Television on 29 October, Jozsef Antall said that the radio and the television have their approved organizational statutes and their deputy chairmen appointed by the president, deputy chairmen who have the authority of chairmen and who work independently. The government is only responsible for their budget, and the prime minister exercises such control on the basis of the budget law. Jozsef Antall pointed out that the mass media are independent, and he has the possibility to nominate deputy chairmen and chairmen. Joszef Antall was surprised at the concept that speaks about independence but, when a problem arises that they do not like, some political forces immediately call the government to account for not taking measures and not interfering. Jozsef Antall expressed his regret over the fact that the Parliament failed to adopt the media law and that the people nominated by him were not appointed in their jobs. As a result—Jozsef Antall said—one must start from this premise in the affair of the radio and television. Answering questions about his health, Jozsef Antall said that both the therapy and the transplant were successful. He said that his condition is according to the doctors' expectations, and even beyond that. Jozsef Antall also spoke about his daily information, the constant contacts with the government members, and his recent telephone conversation with the U.S. secretary of state and the Ukrainian president.

Jozsef Antall analyzed in details Hungary's political and economic evaluation in Western Europe and the American countries. The following ideas were already known from the television news broadcast on 29 October: Hungary continues to be considered as a pioneer in the area of reforms and the most stable country in the region. As a whole, our image is clearly positive. Given the fact that stability is the condition for the confidence of capital and the emerging investments, Jozsef Antall said that, fortunately, responsible politicians and businessmen both in Hungary and abroad do not believe the negative articles that occasionally appear in some major newspapers. They know that these moods are games played by certain political groupings who are even trying to export their own hysterics.

Csurka Comments on Discharged Journalists

AU0411125293 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Nov 93 p 5

["A.S.A."-signed report: "Istvan Csurka: There Has To Be Order"]

[Text] Will the people be able to bear the disappointment if shameful election results come to pass in 1994? Istvan Csurka [chairman of the Hungarian Way Movement and a leader of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party, MIEP] asked this at an event organized by the Hungarian Way Circles movement and the MIEP in Eger.

Referring to the media scandal, Csurka said he does not understand what kind of illness is affecting society, why the big outcry over the discharged television people who "not only lied on 23 October 1992, they do it every day." He asked who speaks up for a Hungarian man when he loses his job? Now, there is an outrage because of a few criminal hacks, the writer-politician said, and he added: awful....

According to the MIEP's leading personality, the root of the problem is that there is no order in the country. He called the attention of the audience to the fact that we have reached the point where gypsies report policemen when the latter manhandle them. Favored ethnic groups, he said, should not be permitted to exist in this country.

MDF Executive Chairman Views Party Prospects

AU0311201293 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Oct 93 p 8

[Interview with Sandor Lezsak, executive chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "We Made A Mistake With Our Constant Defense"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Pinter] Two years ago, you said that if the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] carries a constant dialogue with the society, the party will not have big problems because, thanks to this dialogue, this party can always remain the strongest political force in the country. How do you look back now to this declaration of yours?

[Lezsak] I was right. However, I definitely did not count on such inflamed debates within the MDF, debates that drew the attention away from its contacts with the society. We lost one year. I understand very well that most of the Hungarian citizens interested in politics were reading and hearing about the events within the MDF

and especially about the Csurka-drama with dismay. We are over this drama now, and I can repeat my statement now hoping for a clearer future. All the MDF has to do is to think together with the families, the self-government bodies of various villages, and the communities that organize themselves to build a qualitative society, by regaining its own self-confidence and the self confidence of its political power.

[Pinter] How do you intend to win the various communities over, communities that seem at least skeptical, and generally the whole country in these months?

[Lezsak] Our society's psychological state is changing silently but constantly, and this will already be tangible in the spring of 1994. My numerous trips all over the country make me optimistic, because I see every day that this nation is mature in its thinking and manifestations, and it did not fall for any provocation threatening with a crisis in the past three years. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] You repeatedly declared that the MDF has essentially carried out its reorganization. However, the society has experienced very little of this, and the society is simply confused with the MDF. What is your opinion about this?

[Lezsak] I accept your observation, but only with the provision that the MDF already has the force capable of eliminating the reasons for this confusion. People often forecast a hopeless situation for us before the elections and in the past three years, namely that the Csurka-drama would siphon more than half of our members out of the MDF. No such thing happened. There have always been people who forecast a hot spring, a hot summer, or a hot autumn for us. There were also forecasts of a chaos in the compensations and the collapse of our treatment of the unemployment problem. Great burdens were laid on the parliamentary deputies and government officials that are carrying out the policy of the MDF and generally of the coalition, with the hope that these people will collapse under the pressure. The result of all this is that we have become stronger. We created stability and another four years of government for us could emerge from this stability. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Can you envisage an alliance between the MDF and Istvan Csurka's party and movement?

[Lezsak] With the exception of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], I do not see any other political force today with which we could naturally cooperate. Every party, including the MDF, must clearly determine its future image. The possible contact points can only be determined after that.

[Pinter] Many people claim that large numbers of Csurka-followers continue to be there in the MDF organizations. Many Csurka-followers could get MDF mandates at the upcoming elections. What is your opinion about this?

[Lezsak] After the elections victory, the MDF lost some of its active members in 1990 because many people went into the background and left the daily political activity. A group of people remained who demanded direct participation and regular consultations with the deputies and the officials and they also tried to gain a majority position from minority positions at these talks. This frightened away even more those who created and represented the calm force within the MDF. However, precisely the historical emergency situation is bringing back those forces who previously decided in favor of withdrawing. The passive camp of MDF sympathizers has moved tangibly, particularly in the provinces. This is precisely what closed the Csurka-drama up for good. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] To what extent does MDF Chairman Jozsef Antall's personal fate affect the future of the party?

[Lezsak] Jozsef Antall has become a decisive political figure not only in Hungary but also in the Eastern-European region in recent years. In spite of all the difficulties, he preserved the power of the MDF, the government, and the parliamentary group, and did not engage in irresponsible ventures either in foreign policy or domestic policy. All this in spite of the fact that a part of the opposition used a number of methods to overbalance him. [passage omitted]

Interior Minister Boross Views Media War

AU0311142293 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Oct 93 p 5

[Interview with Interior Minister Peter Boross by Karoly Lencses; place and date not given: "I See Facts"]

[Text] The heads of the Hungarian Television and the Hungarian Radio have not been under government control, so the government did not lose them—Interior Minister Peter Boross said and added that if the tension increases, it means that they will not be able to discuss this matter with the opposition in the foreseeable future.

[Lencses] At a meeting held on 29 October, you also spoke about the conflicts of interests in our society. We can witness a rather serious conflict of interests these days: Real or imagined interests in objective information are in conflict with certain political intentions.

[Boross] I see facts; among others, the fact that an unpleasant event took place in front of the Hungarian Parliament on 23 October 1992, an event that appeared differently in the mass media, in a way suitable for discrediting this country. According to some opinions, there were the skinheads who demonstrated; others started from the reality, namely that 8,000 non-skinheads expressed their negative opinion, unfortunately at a bad moment. A lot of other opinions emerged then, and many serious or less serious sentences were uttered and, as part of this process, the two television channels flared against each other on a broadcasting issue. Then, the head of the television decided to let an

objective institution investigate the issue and find out who was right. When the result arrived, the deputy chairman of this institution came to the conclusion that the "Balance" program of the Hungarian Television distorted something. This led to employment consequences and, in my opinion, this is all that happened.

[Lencses] However, changes of personnel have also taken place in the Hungarian Radio, irrespective of all this. Should we look for a connection between the two events?

[Boross] The heads of the Hungarian Television and the Hungarian Radio indeed came to a simultaneous conclusion, but I do not know the reason for this. I did not play any role in this; nor did the government. I think that problems must be solved where they emerge.

[Lencses] According to some opinions, the leadership of the two institutions slipped away from under the control of the government, although the government should exercise control over the national media. The steps made by the deputy chairmen of these institutions, people authorized to act as chairmen, caused considerable confusion. Should the government take action?

[Boross] The heads of the Hungarian Television and Hungarian Radio have not been under the control of the government so far, so they could not slip away from under the government control. I myself do not want to qualify the personnel composition of these two institutions and, therefore, I will only make one observation: The deputy chairmen are not in an easy position. Given their position, these people can take measures and they must take the consequences into account. It is very simple now to call the government or a cabinet member to account, and I was also accused of manipulating the events, but the Hungarian mass media has always had a section that came up with such arguments. However, I stress that a labor affair measure is not in the jurisdiction of the government.

[Lencses] Would this impossible situation come to an end if the chairmen appointed to these two institutions were accepted by everyone?

[Boross] This issue is not on the agenda today. One should ask the biggest opposition party why the law on mass media fell in parliament. It is extremely unfortunate that an agreement was not reached at the time and that this issue has not been on the agenda since then. If, however, the tension increases, it means that we will not be able to discuss this matter in the foreseeable future.

Editorial on Antall's Politics Before Elections

AU0311140893 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Nov 93 p 3

[Editorial by Istvan Tanacs: "The Message"]

[Text] If anyone—like me—still has illusions regarding [Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall's commitment to the freedom of the press, after the Saturday [30 October] afternoon statement of the Prime Minister's Press Office, he is forced to ask if the time has come to give up this misbelief. This statement is a clear message: The freedom of information, the basic value of bourgeois democracy, will consciously and deliberately be subordinated to the missionary command of "Budapest must not fall."

It is in this context that the real significance of the interview excerpts first carried in the Friday [29 October] evening Television News program can be realized. In this, from his sickbed in the Cologne hospital, the prime minister suggested that, for competent foreign political circles, Hungary's image is not being spoilt by the media chairmen's series of measures, but, on the contrary, by those who speak up against these measures. This, in all probability, means that Antall thinks—because he has ascertained—that he can now eliminate the freedom of the press in the electronic media without any special consequences.

The basis of this logic is that, in 1993, Antall cannot exclude significant groups from the possibility of free elections as was done by his model, Istvan Bethlen, in 1922. What is left for him to do is to manipulate the broad group of electors who do not vote with deliberation, who are, therefore, not difficult to influence, and whose position has considerably deteriorated in the years of the Antall government. Due to its situation, this group would naturally form the opposition's voting base, therefore, it is in the current government's basic interests to prevent the recognition of this fact. To a certain extent, this broad group can be approached through the radio and mainly through television. This is why all alternative information services have to be eliminated in the two most effective media. It is only total power over the electronic media that can give a chance for the current government parties to determine the issues of the election campaign. In a democratic country where the freedom of the press prevails, the campaign is always on the performance of the government in office. The Antall government's performance has been a disappointment to many people—if this was the topic of the campaign then this would clearly strengthen those who would like to replace the reigning elite. For this reason, the government would like to achieve that the public is occupied with the past, rather than the present or the future.

This way, it is clear that we will have a rough campaign, because this is what the government wants. Rather than the economy, it is the situation of the Hungarians beyond the border, the volleys fired after 1956, the agents, [Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman] Gyula Horn's service in the police, and the parents of [Alliance of Free Democrats Chairman] Ivan Peto that will be the main issues. The prime minister's actions have always been successful when he has based his political tactics on human stupidity, greed, jealousy, and servility. It is possible that there will be many people again who, instead of the improvement of their own fate, will be satisfied if the fate of others becomes worse.

Many people hope that Antall will succeed in this. The dependents of the government parties do this so that they will not have to give up the flesh-pots they have become used to. The new elite groups behind the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] do this so that they can also soon get to these pots. The goal of the domestic and foreign capitalist groups with a conservative inclination is that this process of capital accumulation at the edge of Europe can proceed under strong political protection and should not be halted just because, before free elections in an unbiased mass media, the broad masses can see it verified that they will be the ones who pay for these changes, but that others will enjoy the benefits.

Solidarity Refuses Negotiations With Government

LD0311223493 Warsaw PAP in Polish 2121 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Gdansk, 3 Nov (PAP)—The Solidarity leadership refuses to negotiate with the government until it takes a stance on the agreements that were concluded with the previous cabinet. During the meeting on Wednesday [3 November] in Gdansk, the Presidium of Solidarity National Commission rejected the proposals by Labor Minister Leszek Miller who wanted to meet trade union leaders in Gdansk on 5 November. [passage omitted]

The trade union leader [Marian Krzaklewski] has criticized amendments proposed by the government to bills that form the Pact on State Enterprises. "This way the government decided that it breaks the agreements signed by the previous government," Krzaklewski said. He did not exclude that the Solidarity would commence collective dispute with the government. [passage omitted]

Government Open To Cooperation With Trade Unions

LD0311201793 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1311 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Nov—After his meeting with OPZZ [All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions] leader Ewa Spychalska, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak has said that the opinion of trade unions will be taken into account in government work, on the budget and laws related to the enterprise pact in particular. He added that he would like all issues to be resolved by consultation and agreements.

Spychalska said that the unions were also keen on cooperation with the government. She added that bilateral talks were necessary in the immediate future on union's draft of the charter of social and welfare guarantees. The OPZZ leader stated that moving pay hikes for the public sector to January was unacceptable to the union. She added that talks on the issue would continue during preparations of the budget bill for 1994. Asked about OPZZ's stand toward this decision she said: We, the OPZZ, experienced various things with various governments, and this opening is not the worst in comparison with others.

Prime Minister Pawlak said that even if the implementation of the previous government's promise might be possible from a financial point of view it would not be possible from an organizational point of view. According to him, the previous government had only made a pledge without preparing the operation. The question is whether it will be a present for Christmas or the New Year. We are striving to implement commitments made by the previous government, but we have to do it in a well prepared way, Pawlak said.

Earlier Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak announced that pay hikes for the public sector would be moved from December to January 1994.

Spychalska said that a decision by the former minister of health to stop subsidizing convalescent houses for union members had also been discussed. OPZZ was strongly against it. According to Spychalska, the prime minister assured that decisions on the matter would still be taken in November.

Talks Between OPZZ, Pawlak Viewed

WS0411113993 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Nov 93 p 2

[Report signed by J.B.L.: "Government Open to Trade Unions; Spychalska-Pawlak Conversation"]

[Text] **"During the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions [OPZZ] term of office, this is the eighth government and the ninth prime minister. We have been through ups and downs with the various governments. In this case, what we have had up to now, it could be much worse, when you compare it with the past" —this is the way OPZZ Chairwoman Ewa Spychalska summed up her first conversation with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak.**

"What we want to achieve is a situation in which trade unions' views are taken into account in the government's business, I mean both views on drafts of laws, as well as on our routine activities. The purpose of this is to have all problems solved through consultations and agreements"—Waldemar Pawlak said. "This applies first of all to laws associated with the 'Agreement on Enterprises' as well as to OPZZ being consulted on the shape of the budget. What OPZZ suggests is certain determinations regarding some minimum requirements in the area of social issues and social insurance."

The prime minister also said the government is open to cooperation with trade unions, and that it should be taking into account views of various employee groups.

Ewa Spychalska thanked Waldemar Pawlak for his very quick response to an OPZZ letter requesting a meeting, and she invoked an item in the coalition agreement describing government-trade union cooperation.

She also affirmed that guarantees of minimum wages, minimum social benefits, as well as their accessibility, are the most important issues for the trade union. What is also important—according to Spychalska—is clarity of the rules according to which social benefits are granted. In the past, that clarity left a lot to be desired. Spychalska also reaffirmed OPZZ's view that talks with the government on a "Charter of Social Guarantees," should be resumed as soon as possible, and also that the Law on Retirement and Other Kinds of Pensions should be amended, while the tax on excessive wage increases should be eliminated.

According to Spychalska, laws comprising the "Agreement on State-Owned Enterprises" need modifications, because a lot of issues have become outdated during the past year. For instance, 10 percent of shares of companies being privatized are devoted to the employees of

those companies according to the agreement, whereas the Law on National Investment Funds provides for 15 percent. These two figures should be made uniform.

When asked about OPZZ's attitude on Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak's view that there is no possibility for implementing salary raises for teachers before the end of the year, Ewa Spychalska said: "We will return to the issue of raises in the budget sector, because what is being suggested is unacceptable to us. The budget sector situation currently is such, that we cannot afford to depart from decisions reached heretofore. Talks on this topic will be conducted during preparatory work on next year's budget."

Waldemar Pawlak stated that the issue of salary raises for teachers was a promise made by the previous government, and that even if monies were to be found for that purpose, there is no possibility, from a formal standpoint, of keeping the promise.

"The question is, should the gift be for Christmas or for New Year's?"—the prime minister said, to which Ewa Spychalska responded it is not a gift but fulfillment of an obligation based on written law.

There is also a need to take a stand on Minister Wojtyla's decision, according to which agreements between the Health Ministry and owners of convalescent houses were canceled—the OPZZ chairwoman added. The prime minister stated that a "review of that issue is required, and we will do it sometime in November."

It was agreed during the conversation that a joint session of government representatives and the OPZZ Presidium will take place in the near future. The purpose of the meeting will be to determine the scope, agenda, and time schedule for subsequent talks.

Daily Views Fate of Previous Cabinet's Drafts

WS0411102693 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3 Nov 93 p 1

[Article by Ma.S.: "Most of the Laws Will Return to Sejm; Pawlak's Cabinet and Suchocka Government's Legacy"]

[Text] At its first Working session Tuesday [2 November] Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak's cabinet dealt with the legislative legacy left by Hanna Suchocka's government. Most probably, the current government will submit to parliament a majority of the 55 laws prepared by the previous Council of Ministers. This applies mainly to laws associated with the state budget, and also to a majority of draft laws constituting the "Agreement on Enterprises." The government suggested to the Sejm that the deadline for preparing the 1994 state budget be moved to 29 December.

Although Waldemar Pawlak's cabinet intends to present a document in the Sejm, as urgent, making gmina [small administrative unit] finances effective 1 January 1994, the governing coalition intends to make changes. They are to take place within Sejm commissions. Controversy is being stirred up among the ministers by a transfer of schools to gminas as suggested by Suchocka's government, to be effective 1 January next year. Giving up the idea of a mandatory transfer of schools to gminas would decrease subsidies that would have to be borne by the budget for self-governments to accomplish the goal. As Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak told journalists, the new cabinet intends to approach the issue of transferring schools to local communities "in a flexible manner." A draft by Sejm deputies for the Democratic Left Alliance and the Polish Peasant Party, was submitted before the Sejm, stating that the duty of maintaining schools would be imposed on the gminas effective 1 January 1996.

The Council of Ministers did not deal with laws on restructuring public administration, except for the noncontroversial draft on the self-government appeal board. The case was similar regarding the draft law on ratification of the Concordat between the Holy See and the Polish Republic. Decisions on these issues will be made in a week, but as far as the Concordat is concerned, "the government's job is done—now it is an issue for the parliament to deal with," Prime Minister Pawlak said.

The government does not intend to make changes in just one of the six drafts constituting the "Agreement on State-Owned Enterprises" (the draft on protection of employee claims), and it regards it as urgent. The government intends to make corrections in four of the drafts, but it wants to do so at the parliamentary proceedings' level. The greatest controversy was stirred up in the new Council of Ministers by a draft on privatization of state-owned enterprises.

Debate on the remaining laws comprising the "batch of 55" was postponed until the next session of the Council of Ministers. The government intends to submit before the Sejm, as urgent, 12 of the drafts debated on Tuesday.

Budget Proper, No Interim Budget

Prime Minister Pawlak's cabinet gave up the idea of preparing an interim budget. Instead, it intends to come up with a budget for 1994 by 29 December. The Sejm is to approve this deadline change at its next session (according to the Budget Law, the government should submit a draft by mid-November).

Deputy Prime Minister Marek Borowski informed journalists that:

—The Polish National Bank [NBP] agreed to financing the budget deficit through the central bank, where 30,000 billion zlotys will not be decreased by a discount (this requires the Sejm's approval at its next session). "We regard that agreement as a sign of good cooperation between the government and NBP";

—There will be salary increases for teachers effective next January, not this December;

—The draft budget prepared by the previous government will be used, but Pawlak's cabinet wants to "leave its own imprint on it," so changes will definitely be made.

Oleksy on Removal of Draft Laws, UD Reaction

WS0311151493 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 2110 GMT 2 Nov 93

[Interview with Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy by Jan Jankowski, identified by caption, in Warsaw, from the "Sejmograph—Parliamentary Magazine" program; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Jankowski] The Sejm hall behind us is empty now, and we will have to wait for the Sejm's next session on 8 November. Mr. Speaker, who is responsible for this slowdown in the rate of Sejm business? Is it you?

[Oleksy] There has not been any slowdown at all, and it certainly is not dependent on the Sejm itself. The Sejm is ready to do hard work throughout its entire term—that is my perception of the will of the deputies and the deputies clubs. But there is indeed a certain lengthiness involved here; it began immediately after the elections, when it was hardly possible to speed up coalition agreements, especially since the shape of the coalition itself was not clear from the beginning. Then, Prime Minister Pawlak thought he should be able to avail himself of the time period provided by the Constitution, which is two weeks from being designated and sworn-in as prime minister. And so the Sejm session regarding a debate on the prime minister's inaugural address as well as a vote of confidence in the government, will be delayed, as it were. [passage omitted]

In a situation of an outgoing government submitting such a number of draft laws, everybody knows that if I were to initiate proceedings on those drafts in the Sejm commissions, there have to be representatives of that government present, to justify and present the draft laws. There were simply no such representatives.

[Jankowski] Mr. Speaker, but....

[Oleksy, interrupting] [Words indistinct] a government was formed and a question arises—logically, there has to be a question—of whether the new government, which is responsible for those laws, is going to uphold those drafts.

[Jankowski] Mr. Speaker, but could this not happen in a different way? Could not government members simply come to sessions of the Sejm commissions—as they regularly do—and then make modifications, corrections, and so on and so forth, and the entire process would proceed at a much faster pace?

[Oleksy] Absolutely yes. I could have assumed—I had reasons to assume—that as the new prime minister, Pawlak would say: Yes, please initiate the legislative process with regard to those drafts, and we, as the government, will address the issue of these drafts during the legislative process, even if it means withdrawing some of them. But what Prime Minister Pawlak said instead, was that he decided to withdraw the entire batch. That is an autonomous right of his, as the new prime minister. [passage omitted on Democratic Union, UD, criticism of the decision to withdraw the draft laws]

[Jankowski] According to UD Sejm deputies, the decision to withdraw the batch of drafts of laws now, can in fact endanger the state's legal continuity. Do you share that view?

[Oleksy] No, I do not share it. Apparently, the UD deputies are motivated by a sense of loyalty to Mrs. Hanna Suchocka's government. I appreciate the importance of that batch of draft laws. There are indeed drafts there—or rather there were—which require urgent processing. By the way, 10 of them were marked as urgent. For that reason, I addressed a question to the prime minister very early—that was on the day he and his government were sworn in—and an answer to the question is already in. Still, from the standpoint of state issues being processed, it has no disastrous impact at all.

IMF Ready for Cooperation with New Government

LD0311173793 Warsaw PAP in English 1722 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 3—The Polish Government and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are of the opinion that economic policy and the state budget must provide conditions for the permanent economic growth but they must also take into account social factors, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak and the IMF Representative in Warsaw Markus Radlauer said after their meeting on Wednesday [3 November].

"There are no contradictions here, as economic growth is a condition for solving social problems," Pawlak stated.

Radlauer added that the IMF is "ready for cooperation with the new government." However, the most important factor for the cooperation with the IMF will be the draft 1994 budget and the economic programme of the government, Radlauer said.

Radlauer hopes that the government will continue to decrease inflation, keep financial balance and create conditions for making Polish industry and agriculture more competitive.

Poland is now carrying out the stand-by agreement with the IMF signed in November last year and based on the economic programme and draft budget presented by the Hanna Suchocka government. After three quarters of 1993 Poland kept the criteria of the agreement and hopefully she will succeed in keeping them until the end of the year, according to the unofficial sources in the Polish Ministry of Finance.

The present agreement will be binding till April 1994 and the draft budget for 1994 and Pawlak's economic programme will be essential for its realization.

If Poland succeeds in carrying out the agreement with the IMF, the Paris Club of creditors will reduce Polish debt by some 8 billion U.S. dollars. Now, the Polish debt in the Paris Club totals 33 billion U.S. dollars.

The first agreement with the IMF signed in December 1989 was broken as Poland exceeded the agreed level of budget deficit and the rate of inflation. The second agreement of April 1991 was suspended due to the same reasons.

National Bank Announces Trade Deficit

LD0311174593 Warsaw PAP in English 1734 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 3—The National Bank of Poland (NBP) said on Wednesday that after nine months of this year the current account of the balance of payments showed a deficit of 2.33 billion dollars.

NBP's director Wlodzimierz Kicinski said during a press conference that the current situation was chiefly caused by Poland's 1.915 billion-dollar trade deficit.

The second element deciding about the current account of the balance is the payment of accumulated interest on foreign debts, Kicinski said.

After three quarters of 1993 the balance showed a deficit on the interest payments of 3.1 billion dollars which was lower by 433 million in comparison to the like period of 1992. Including the September payment Poland has repaid 790 million dollars while the repayment of 1.9 billion dollars has been forgiven in accordance with the agreement signed with the Paris Club of creditors.

However, private transfers recorded in September showed the highest surplus this year, amounting to 140 million dollars. After the nine months of 1993 the surplus in private transfers amounts to 398 million dollars as compared to 29 million in the same period of 1992.

Kicinski said that opinions and attempts to press for the devaluation of the Polish zloty would stand in contradiction to the policy pursued by the central bank.

NBP, according to the director, is interested in economic stabilization and the curbing of inflation. The bank is of the opinion that other forms of exports promotion would be far more efficient, although more expensive, as they would lower budget incomes for some time, but in the long run they would bring larger and more permanent effects.

Kicinski said that the gross reserves are at a satisfactory level and reached 3.8 billion dollars. The director also assessed as favourable the level of net reserves, one of the executive criteria of the agreement signed between Poland and the International Monetary Fund.

Privatization Minister Describes Priorities

LD0411060493 Warsaw PAP in English 2313 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 3—Wieslaw Kaczmarek, Poland's new privatisation minister, told a press conference in Warsaw on Wednesday [3 November] that he "does not intend to conduct a settling-of-accounts over the privatisation process to date," but will instead seek to find "future solutions while benefitting from past experiences."

Speaking at his first press conference since being appointed to the Privatisation Ministry, Kaczmarek said that the government decision to withdraw privatisation bills from the enabling legislation relating to the Suchocka governments state enterprise pact, Kaczmarek said that the decision amounted to a "return" of the draft for further work. The whole package had been too-hastily put together, and many items required further corrections or elaboration.

Kaczmarek said that he believed that the privatisation law was a constitutional concern, and as such should not be treated with excessive haste. He also said that there was an urgent need for the Privatisation Ministry and the Sejm (lower house) Privatisation Committee to establish the basis for their future cooperation.

Kaczmarek said that one of his main priorities would be to examine the whole question of reprivatisation (the restitution of private property nationalised or expropriated during the communist period—ed.). He admitted that he was not a supporter of the full restitution of property, and suggested instead that reprivatisation should be restricted to instances where there were breaches of the law during the process of nationalisation.

The minister stressed that he was not seeking to slow the process of privatisation. Quite the reverse: He would seek to identify what were the major obstacles, particularly capital, to the completion of the process. However, he drew attention to some of the "economic colossi" such as the "Star" truck manufacturer, or the giant "Huta Katowice" steel producer, which qualified for handling by the "department of hopeless cases," rather than the Privatisation Ministry.

Government 'Satisfaction' With U.S. MFN Decision

AU0311153593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] The signing by U.S. President Bill Clinton of the text of the Joint Resolution of the House of Representatives and the Senate on the ratification of the trade agreement with Romania and on the granting of most-favored-nation [MFN] status to our country was received with particular satisfaction by the Romanian Government. This moment of reference for our country does not only mark the full normalization of the bilateral relations between the two countries, but also opens generous prospects for expanding cooperation in all spheres.

The Romanian Government is determined to make use of the long-term opportunities arising from this preferential trade treatment, which represents a direct and substantial support granted by the United States to the consolidation of the democratization and reform process in Romania—reads a fax received by our editorial office from the government.

AZI Article Cites Economic Value of MFN Status

AU0311141893 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 27 Oct 93 p 4

[Radu N. Alexandru article: "Is the Most-Favored-Nation Status a Political or Economic Bonus?"]

[Text] After Romania's admission to the Council of Europe, there is no reason for Washington not to renounce the "quarantine" imposed on our country ever since 1988. The delayed ratification by the U.S. of the Romanian-American Trade Agreement (signed on 3 April 1992) has placed Romania next to such countries as North Korea and Cuba. We are practically the last ones to be granted this status. Certainly, (re)gaining most-favored-nation [MFN] status and, generally, the coming into effect of the trade agreement with the United States, is an important achievement for Romania, but one cannot avoid the question: "Why so late?"

Although it is not easy to provide an answer in such a limited space, a few considerations can be formulated. Generally speaking, the refusal (delay) of the MFN-status has two explanations. On the one hand, I am talking of an explanation which I would call globalist, according to which the Romanian democratic processes have not satisfied Washington's demands and the standards of the Western- type society. Needless to recall that this thesis was a constant hot point in Romanian political confrontations. One thing is sure, namely that the American president, be he Bush or Clinton, adopted a reserved position toward President Iliescu and implicitly toward Romania. On the other hand, Romania's lack of success in relations with the United States was blamed on the anti-Romanian lobby, especially of Hungarian origin; the name of Congressman Tom Lantos was mentioned in this respect. And this possible—let us call it nationalist—explanation marked the political disputes within the Romanian parliament and outside it.

Without denying the explanatory value of the globalist and nationalist positions, the lack of interest by Americans, and especially Washington, in Romania's much quoted advantage, namely its geostrategic position, is, nevertheless, surprising. First, it has to be specified that it is not just a story nice to be told at political gatherings, but a palpable reality. For example, one of the reasons why the Netherlands constantly opposed us in the Council of Europe is, undoubtedly, the potential competition a "Europeanized" port of Constanta could represent for Rotterdam. And we should not confuse the "object" with the "subject." The fact that they do not see this, does not mean that it does not exist. It is, however, clear-cut that, although it is the world gendarme, the United States has a number of priorities, but none of them is called Romania. This is not something that happened today or yesterday. We are actually part of those countries toward which the United States has not (yet) specified its interests clearly. Consequently, it is not surprising that in relations—those that have existed—with Romania, America let itself guided by a cliche-image, which was unfavorable for us so far and favorable after our admission to the Council of Europe. From this point of view, the way the U.S. Senate treated the question of the MFN-status for Romania, that is without any discussions, is edifying.

Whether we like it or not, for the politicians in Washington Romania is just a point to be ticked off on their agenda. We cannot say the same thing, however, about American businessmen; this is (also) proved by the visit a delegation of the American Investors Society paid to Romania. This is why it is the economic merit of the MFN-status that is of prime importance for us.

Melescanu Addresses Cabinet Composition Issue

AU0311194793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1853 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/11/1993—The recent statement of Adrian Nastase, executive president of the Party of Social Democracy of Romania [PDSR], that all members of the executive should be members of the ruling party, was directly addressed to Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu. Asked by ROMPRES to state his standpoint on the matter, the Romanian chief diplomat said: "The preoccupation of the government, just like, in fact of other parties as well, to ensure a political participation in the ruling, seems very normal and natural to me.

The only question is that Romania is traversing a period of transition". Considering that in a democratic ruling the majority or even all of a cabinet's ministers have to be representatives of the party that won the elections, the foreign minister opined that the thing was totally valid in

a well-structured society in which the parties had competent people to cover the government offices. "I have serious doubts that any of the parties in Romania has the people required to cover all government offices in conditions of competence".

The Romanian chief diplomat considered that the solution might be a "compromise". "What is suiting best the current stage? To have a competent person who is not a member of a party or to go to the end with the principle according to which it is the people of the party that won the elections that have to rule?" And his answer was: "I would choose the first variant".

Melescanu Previews Strasbourg Visit, Departs

AU0311130393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu left for Strasbourg today to attend the 93rd meeting of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

In a statement made to our radio station before departure from Otopeni Airport, Mr. Teodor Melescanu said that our presence in Strasbourg has dual significance: On the one hand, our participation in tomorrow's ceremony to raise the Romanian flag, which will consecrate our country's membership in the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, and, on the other, Romania's first participation in the discussion of general issues as a member state of the Council of Europe.

Mr. Melescanu emphasized that, if our attention has focused up to now exclusively on the major question of Romania's joining the Council of Europe, from now on we will have to concern ourselves in relations with this body with a substantial participation in all discussions.

He also said that his presence in Strasbourg tomorrow will give him an opportunity to have contacts with higher officials of the Council of Europe and talks on tangible questions connected with the commitments we have assumed and the promotion of obligations we have assumed as a new member of the Council of Europe.

Parties Approve Euro-Atlantic Integration Protocol

AU0311223593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Report by correspondent Dan Preda]

[Text] All the political parties in the Romanian Parliament have decided to establish the National Consultative Council for Euro-Atlantic Integration, a council that has been set up tonight at the Senate headquarters with a protocol signed in the presence of the representatives of the Romanian Government, the Presidency, the diplomatic corps accredited to Bucharest, and of numerous journalists.

The reasons for establishing the council, its objectives, and its working methods are included in the text of the protocol that was read out by a deputy of the Democratic Party, Victor Bostinaru.

[Begin Bostinaru recording] Taking into consideration the overall development in the international arena at the end of this millennium and the increasingly important role incumbent on the West European and Euro-Atlantic structures in the new geopolitical context, aware of the prospects of strengthening and expanding economic, political, cultural, socio-humanitarian, and military cooperation on the European continent and of the need to capitalize on Romania's geopolitical position at the juncture of certain areas of interest with their increasing strategic values, convinced that in the area of foreign policy the complete integration into West European and Euro-Atlantic structures represents Romania's fundamental option and that this requires measures to continue adapting and harmonizing international political actions in support of this orientation, considering Romania's Euro-Atlantic integration as a major goal of national interest, to whose achievement all responsible political forces are called upon to make a contribution, and convinced that the actual implementation of this goal requires an adequate framework of manifestation and the national consensus of all political forces regarding the West European and Euro-Atlantic integration, as an expression of the Romanian people, the parties represented in Romania's Parliament decided to establish the National Consultative Council for Euro-Atlantic Integration.

The objective of the council is to offer political support aimed at accelerating the process of Romania's integration into Euro-Atlantic and West European structures, mainly in harmonizing legislation and adapting internal measures to suit the requirements of this process. In order to achieve this objective, the National Consultative Council for Euro-Atlantic Integration proposes, among other things, to act in the following areas: stimulation of the process of converging political actions of parties and institutions involved in the Euro-Atlantic integration; cooperation with all the structures of Romanian society and mass media in order to achieve the proposed goals; the provision of constant information to the Romanian and international public about the goals and proposed actions.

The working method of the council is the following: The parties that have signed the present protocol agree on the rule of the consensus and the rule of presiding over proceedings of the National Consultative Council of Euro-Atlantic Integration by rotation. Other rules will be established at the first meeting according to the agenda.

The signatories of the present protocol designated as members are representatives of the following parties:

Civic Alliance Party

Democratic Party

Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania

Social Democracy Party of Romania

Romanian Ecologist Party

Liberal Party '93

National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention

National Peasant Christian Democratic Party

Romanian National Unity Party

Greater Romania Party

Social-Democratic Party of Romania

Socialist Party of Labor

Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania and permanent invited guests, representatives of the following:

the Romanian Presidency

permanent delegations of the Romanian Parliament to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Western European Union, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Assembly, the European Parliament, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Defense Ministry, the Ministry of Commerce, and the Department for European Integration.

Other guests may also attend the proceedings of the National Consultative Council for Euro-Atlantic Integration.

The present protocol was adopted by consensus on 3 November 1993 at a meeting at the Marmor Hall of the Romania's Senate. [end recording]

Parliament Incident Involving PD Leaders Reported

AU0311072993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1207 GMT 2 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/1993—Petre Roman, deputy for the Democratic Party [PD], former premier, and Traian Basescu, PD deputy, former minister of transport in the Roman government, made explosive statements from the rostrum of the Chamber of Deputies, Tuesday, November 2. The prime minister's auditors lodged a complaint with the General Prosecution against abuse and forgery allegedly committed by Petre Roman during his premiership (after the December 1989 revolution up to September 1991,) and by Traian Basescu when he was at the head of the Ministry of Transport.

Petre Roman mentioned that a number of accusations refer to the destination of goods that were part of the patrimony of the former Romanian Communist Party. The general secretariat of the government drafted an act on this issue and on the way in which a number of buildings were rented to natural and artificial persons. The act was presented to the Senate on November 12, 1992.

"The report-intimation of the premier's auditors is a Stalinist frame-up, a diversion intended to distract attention from the grave accusations made every day to the Vacaroiu cabinet," said Roman. "All the accusations, with no exception, start from the presumption that the villas and houses in question might have been rented for much money. That 'might have' manner of treating things is a grave infringement of the principles of the state of law. (...) The accusations are illegal also because it is a prime minister that makes final decisions in keeping with his legal prerogatives."

"The irresponsibility of the current government, which has brought many million people in a state of poverty, that can't be compared with anything existing under the governments I had the honor to lead, is obvious in this document too, that is an act of libeling using methods specific to dictatorships," added Roman.

"I cannot be incriminated as former prime minister as there exists no law on ministerial responsibility, the more so for deeds related to my right to make decision in my own name or in the name of the government (when I was premier.)"

"I state in front of Parliament that I am ready to go before criminal inquiry bodies and make no use of parliamentary immunity, in order to have a clear conscience that I have contributed also in this way to the enforcement of the law," said former Prime Minister Petre Roman.

Traian Basescu mentioned for his part, that "lies and diversions are the only solutions left to the Vacaroiu government."

"Unable to find solutions to redress the economy, to find ways to finance Romania, to continue the reform, and to govern in the interest of the nation, Mr. Vacaroiu is only willing to cling to power."

"As for the report on the buildings, referred to the General Prosecution, I can only say one thing: That is typically Bolshevik propagandist lying."

"I am sure that legal bodies can no longer be used in Romania for a frame-up. (...) Fully aware that nobody is more powerful than the law and willing to prove that the government is lying, I renounce parliamentary immunity," said Basescu.

"I ask the General Prosecution to open a legal inquiry on Premier Vacaroiu and (State Secretary) Ion Honcescu (who signed the report forwarded to the General Prosecution.)

Army Factories Switching to Civilian Production

AU0311135593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1120 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/11/1993—More and more factories so far producers of military equipment are converting their weapon production to civilian purposes in order to survive the shock of a diminishing demand for armament and the difficulties of the transition period to a market economy.

The army's industrial group, organized as a public corporation GIA-RA [expansion unknown] and subordinated to the Romanian Army's Endowment Department only as far as manufacturing orders are concerned, is comprised of 11 productive units which have now diversified their production range, the magazine CAPITAL writes in a feature report. Besides armament, they make farm machinery, readymades, footwear and commodities, and have recently expanded, in cooperation with an Italian partner, to the building of fibre boats, in high demand on the international market. "Every year, our civilian products are being exported to France, Italy, England, Argentine," GIA-RA's executive manager says, "with prospects of cooperation with firms in the Netherlands, Germany." Among their latest novelties is a woodland tractor made at GIA-RA's Mizil factory, very well received in Argentine, where a first 125 tester batch has been sent, to be followed next year by other 1,000 pieces. The Aerofina factory of Bucharest are making wheelchairs extremely appreciated by an Argentine partner.

Manager Niculescu said that with army orders filling only 30-40 percent of the corporation's capacities, GIA-RA must find new civilian partners for survival, and that for the production of conversion goods it seeks direct cooperation with foreign partners. That was how Rascala SRL Romanian-Italian joint venture was born, which has orders for its entire 1994 production, that is the manufacture of 300 items of fibre boats appreciated for their quality and for the price 15-20 percent below other prices on the Italian market.

Trade Balance Surplus Registered in September

AU0311135193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1049 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/11/1993—September 1993 was the third month in a row when Romania's trade balance recorded an active balance of trade. It is worth remarking that the excess comes not from reducing imports but by making exports overtake imports. Hard currency exports in September stood at $583.2 million, that is 7.5 percent above August levels and 51.3 percent above August 1992 figures. Imports rose to $559.9 million, which was 10.6 percent higher than those of the previous month and 76.5 higher than August 1992. The September 1993 balance therefore shows an excess of $23.3 million.

Over the first nine months of the current year both exports and imports have grown compared with the equivalent 1992 similar period: exports for hard currency amounted to $3,166,600,000 (6.7 percent) and imports to $3,761,300,000 (6.7 percent), which determined a trade deficit of $594,700,000 ($618 million over the first eight months).

Private companies exported in the worth of $840,000,000 (26.5 percent of total exports) and imported in the worth of $1,132,900,000 (27.8 percent of total imports). On a year-on-year basis, private exports have grown by 13.6 percent and imports diminished by 9.3 percent.

By groups of countries, exports to developed countries, mostly those of the EC, rose to almost a half while exports to central and eastern Europe hold a share of 15 percent. Imports from developed countries hold a majority with 60.5 percent of the total.

Labor Ministry Reports 9.3-Percent Unemployment

AU0311101293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0734 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 3/11/1993—The number of unemployed over 25 October-1 November increased by 10,000 in Romania, of whom 3,000 jobless only in Bucharest, according to a weekly communique issued by the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection. It adds that the rate of unemployment went up to 9.3 percent in the said period, which represents 1,055,396 jobless to an employed population of 11.3 million.

Unemployment benefits are provided for 473,394 jobless, while support benefits are ensured for another 486,108. The communique indicates that 389,076 jobless do no longer meet the requirements of unemployment law and that only 2,909 have re-gained their jobs in production activities.

According to the same communique, the places of work available stood on 1 November at 7,715 at a country level, and at 2,495 for Bucharest, while the most requested jobs are for masons and house painters, carpenters, blacksmiths and garment workers.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 4 November

WA0411185093

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Serbs, international mediator Stoltenberg reject Croatian President Tudjman's peace proposal ... Croats leave Vares to Muslim forces; Tudjman protests to Bosnian President Izetbegovic ... serbs in Vukovar present UN war crimes commission from investigating reports of mass grave.

DIPLOMATIC

SERBS, STOLTENBERG REJECT TUDJMAN INITIATIVE (TANJUG, Belgrade TV): Serbs in Bosnia, Croatia reject Croatian President Tudjman's proposal granting Krajina Serbs autonomy in Croatia, calling for expansion of international mediators in Balkans. Krajina Serbs say autonomy offer is "as serious as if" the Krajina Serbs were to "offer Croatia special status in Krajina," while Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic objects to provisions calling for German and Turkish delegations at talks, NATO role in enforcing agreement. International mediator Stoltenberg says conditions have not changed since failure of last talks, expresses doubt over possibility of convening new negotiations this year. (LD0311182093, AU0311200993, LD0311170093)

MILITARY

CROATS LEAVE VARES TO MUSLIM TROOPS (Zagreb Radio): Bosnian Croat forces report "no Croatian civilians or units" left in Vares after 20,000 civilians fled from attacking Muslim forces. Tudjman sends protest letter to Bosnian President Izetbegovic demanding he order cessation of Muslim offensive. (LD0411095193, AU0311202393)

HUMANITARIAN

SERBS PREVENT COMMISSION FROM PROBING MASS GRAVE (AFP): United Nations statement accuses local Krajina Serbs in Vukovar of preventing UN war-crimes commission from investigating mass grave, despite permission from Krajina Serb leaders in self-proclaimed capital of Knin. Local Serbs say commission will not be allowed into the city "as long as an overall political solution has not been found for the situation in ex-Yugoslavia." (AU0311202393)

NOTICE TO READERS

With the 10 November issue, the daily publication of the Balkan Crisis Bulletin will be suspended. Further publication of the bulletin will be on an irregular basis, as events in the area dictate, and may be resumed on a daily basis if circumstances warrant. 04 NOV 1731z kn

Retreating Croats Leave Vares to Muslim Troops

LD0411095193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Report by Miljenko Karacic from Mostar]

[Excerpt] There are now no Croatian civilians or units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in Vares. After approximately 20,000 civilians—including a large number of refugees from the municipality of Kakanj—pulled out, the Bobovac HVO Brigade withdrew to the east and southeast of the town, the Main HVO headquarters reports.

The town is empty, other than the numerous Muslim troops who have carried out the ethnic cleansing of Vares. The largest number of Vares refugees is staying in Reljevo, near Kiseljak, while a certain number of these unfortunate people, including a large number of women, children and elderly people, is wandering in the nearby woods. [passage omitted]

Muslim Troops Enter Vares

AU0411085293 Paris AFP in English 0837 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Vares, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Nov 4 (AFP)—Troops of the Moslem-led government entered this central Bosnian town Thursday [4 November], laughing triumphantly and hugging their Moslem brethren left here after Croat forces abandoned their stronghold.

A squad of Bosnian army soldiers armed with machine guns and shoulder rocket launchers was seen heading up the main road of the town from the south, 30 kilometers (18) miles north of Sarajevo.

There were joyous scenes around the school where some 230 Moslems had been held captive by forces of the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) before they pulled out Tuesday night in the face on an attack by Bosnian troops from the northwest and south.

"Don't be afraid, a lot of soldiers are coming, you are free now," exhulted a young Bosnian soldier named Muhammad Zubuca, 27, who wore a green headband and hung from his pocket a small HVO banner he captured at a checkpoint.

Women cried for joy, and men ran out to embrace the soldiers who distributed chocolates and other items to the weary Moslems at the school.

The men gave the thumbs-up sign, and one said, "We're so happy."

Another added, "It's impossible, it's amazing," clasping his hands to his head in disbelief at the arrival of the Bosnian troops.

Some small arms fire could be heard south of the town but there were no immediate incidents as the Bosnian troops entered Vares, a once prosperous trading hub which now lies battered, with shops gutted and looted after the Croats left.

A thick fog hung over the town with the arrival of the Moslem troops.

Karadzic Rejects Tudjman Peace Initiative

AU0311200993 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Report by Marica Lalovic]

[Text] Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, has commented on the peace initiative by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, which calls for establishment of peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina by force if the three warring factions fail to sign the Geneva packages within 14 days. Dr. Karadzic said that an acceptable political solution does not require any coercion, and that the Serbian side proposes that the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina be ended through the negotiations of the three warring sides and a fair demarcation between the three republics.

This does not require 50,000 soldiers, but 5,000 to 7,000 observers on the border. The Serbian side will never accept NATO's mediation, nor its involvement on the Serbian territory. Dr. Karadzic also commented on Tudjman's proposal that France, Germany, Russia, the United States, Turkey, and Great Britain take part in the continuation of the Geneva conference, saying that the Serbian side considers the current war in the former Yugoslavia to be the continuation of World War II, and that therefore only the victorious countries can take part at the round table negotiations, Russia, France, Britain, and the United States. Germany and Turkey have vested interests in the conflict and therefore cannot take part in the talks. Germany bears special responsibility for the breaking up of Yugoslavia.

Koljevic Rejects Proposal

AU0311191693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Interview with Nikola Koljevic, deputy leader of the Bosnian Serbs, by Dragan Colovic on the "An Argument More" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Colovic] Mr. Koljevic, I bid you good evening on behalf of the "An Argument More" listeners.

[Koljevic] Good evening.

[Colovic] In this program we are talking about the proposal made by Croatian President Tudjman for the Geneva conference to resume work where, as he said, it stopped, namely with the agreements that have been reached. We would like to hear your comments on this initiative by the Croatian president.

[Koljevic] First of all, I would like to say that the resumption of all political talks, including the Geneva conference, would, of course, be welcomed by all sides that strive for peace. The Serbian side has been striving for that for some time. I think that this desire can [words indistinct] basis, because the three sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina have, in fact, agreed on the constitutional principles that Bosnia-Herzegovina would be a union of three republics that would enjoy a high degree of independence.

This would be for us the starting point for resuming the negotiations. Nothing less than that.

[Colovic] Mr. Koljevic, Croatian President Tudjman has also proposed the broadening of the participants in the conference with countries that, as he said, could most effectively influence the settlement of the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. He proposed, among others, Germany and Turkey. What is your view on that?

[Koljevic] I think that it is sufficiently clear in the case of these two countries that Mr. Tudjman is thinking more of countries that, if not taking sides with Croatia, would support certain Croatian demands. This does not appear to me to be a principled proposal. After all, the agreement primarily depends on the protagonists in the conflict and not on countries that would be exerting special pressure, such as these two countries.

[Colovic] In our view, some proposals by the Croatian president are very severe. One such proposal is that the expanded team at the Geneva conference should make, under the threat of force, all three sides in the conflict sign the agreement to end the hostilities.

[Koljevic] The words that you have used, to put them under the threat of force, represents a contradictio in adjecto [contradiction in terms]. No one can be forced to do something, but only with just or, as we used to say, an equally painful solution for all. [sentence as heard] In other words, with a compromise. In my view this kind of threat is completely inappropriate.

[Colovic] What is your view on the Croatian president's position that the contentious issues among the three sides be solved through bilateral negotiations, and if this does not succeed, that the final decision be entrusted to a special arbitration body nominated by the cochairmen of and the participants in the conference?

[Koljevic] I think that the first part of that proposal is a lot more interesting and (?fruitful) than the latter. Bilateral negotiations have always facilitated the settlement of some disputes and have, therefore, in principle, been constructive.

However, creating an arbitration commission is only another form of coercion, as is the use of force. Therefore, I doubt that any side, with the exception of the one that would gain something in this dispute, would be in favor of that kind of solution.

[Colovic] Another controversial issue concerning the latest initiative of Croatian President Tudjman: It refers to the use of NATO forces in the implementation of the agreement, with the right to use force, including air strikes. What is your view on that?

[Koljevic] Very simple. Yugoslavia has never been a member of NATO, nor have its individual republics. Therefore, such an option would be completely unjustified and useless.

On the other hand, Yugoslavia has been a member and one of the founders of the United Nations since its founding. Therefore, we would only consider the presence of UN forces.

[Colovic] Mr. Koljevic, one more important question, the question of lifting the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Croatian president proposes that the sanctions remain in force until the peace process yields results. It follows from this that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is the only one that is hampering or preventing peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Koljevic] I think that not only is this proposal unrealistic but, from the point of view of negotiations, also extremely unproductive. I would not want to go into analyses of the reasons for it, but there is no doubt that, to judge from what is being said and written in the world, Croatia is also in danger of having sanctions introduced against it. This therefore amounts, as people say, to attack as the best form of defense.

I do not think that the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will remain in force for much longer. This is in a way substantiated by the fact that the Serbian side in Bosnia-Herzegovina is increasingly moving toward peace and has already reached one local peace agreement. We will try to have more of these. Therefore, the last excuse for the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will disappear. In fact, we will be focussing our attention on this in the days ahead.

[Colovic] Mr. Koljevic, thank you.

[Koljevic] Thank you.

Boban Supports Initiative

LD0311222693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] According to the latest statement by the main headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], most Croats from the Vares municipality have managed to flee the town toward the village of Brgule held by Serbian forces. The Croats managed to escape owing to HVO units from Kiseljak that came to aid of the Bobovac Brigade. Miljenko Karacic reports for Croatian radio:

[Karacic] Last night, after the 2d and 3d Corps of the Muslim army—reinforced by special units from Sarajevo—pushed back members of the Bobovac Brigade, which had defended Vares for months, and blocked off all exits from the town, civilians were endangered; all the more so seeing that the HVO's main headquarters have received reports that the Muslim army has begun massacring civilians in the Croat villages of (Pribije), Pogar, Borovica, Ivancevo, and (Vijeke).

There is no major fighting between the Muslim army and HVO units on other battlefronts in Herceg-Bosna. The department for political activity of the HVO's central Bosnia operational zone has announced that the UNHCR has provided a generator and oil for the needs of a hospital in Vitez, and that the repair work on the Busovaca-Zenica power line, suspended due to a Muslim army attack on UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] repair team, should be resumed tomorrow.

Perica Jukic, president of the chamber of deputies of the parliament of the the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, today sent a letter of support to Franjo Tudjman's peace initiative to solve the crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna President Mate Boban also sent a letter to President Tudjman this evening. The letter says among other things:

Dear Mr. President,

The Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna lend their full support to your new peace initiative. We will do everything necessary for your peace initiative to yield results and recompense the huge efforts that you personally and the Republic of Croatia have invested for the benefit of the Croat and all other nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna has so far completed a considerable part of its tasks specified in the proposed measures for ending the war and restoring peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are glad that you once again, in resolute terms, expressed and supported the will of the Croatian nation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to realize its state-building character and equality in a community with the other two nations, in a union of republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is a permanent commitment of the policy of the Republic of Croatia and the overall interest of the Croatian people.

We are joining your appeal to international factors to take resolute action in order to end the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and throughout the former Yugoslavia. At the same time, we believe that the urgent implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 871 is a condition for the continuation of the peace process in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and the consolidation of a permanent peace, which is in the interest of all nations and the international community as a whole.

We know that we have to sacrifice a lot and accept painful compromises for peace, but we also know that it is only through respect for all sides and the situation in Bosnia and abroad that we can aspire to the final goal—the development of democracy and human rights and freedoms. The Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina have clearly accepted their share of obligations in that respect, and I am assuring you once again that we are ready to comply with all conditions set for the reaching and consolidation of a permanent peace.

Unfortunately, the Muslim aggression against the Croatian people and areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina continues unabated. The Croatian area of Vares in central Bosnia has just been attacked and occupied in a most brutal way. Hiding behind lies and accusations, Muslim warriors are continuing with the ethnic cleansing of Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Croats of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna are unable to establish direct contact with international factors and diplomatic representatives of other countries. Consequently, we are asking you and state institutions of the Republic of Croatia to advocate our interests and inform the international community about the atrocities committed by the army controlled by the Muslim Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities.

This is said in the letter by Croat republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina President Mate Boban sent to Croatian President Tudjman.

Silajdzic Sets Conditions for Talks

LD0411121293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina prime minister has said that the prospects for new peace negotiations are grim if conducted by the same people who have accepted the Serbian aggression. In an interview yesterday, Silajdzic warned that the Bosnian Muslims would boycott future negotiations if mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg continue to insist on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina based on Serbian conquests. The peace process is going to continue, but there will be no progress if the same people conduct it, the Bosnia-Herzegovina prime minister said.

He added that the Muslims are ready to restart peace negotiations which would be likely to succeed, but that they are not ready to participate in a repetition of the London and Geneva conferences.

Silajdzic Receives U.S. President's Special Envoy

LD0311225493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina's Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic had a meeting today with Charles Redman, special envoy of American President Bill Clinton. They discussed diplomatic activities in connection with a global solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

One of the topics discussed was the opening of a corridor from the south to Sarajevo and other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. They also mentioned the Bijela bridge [north of Mostar] where the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] did not allow access to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] units. The extremely difficult situation on the Muslim-held left bank of the Neretva river was pointed out.

Public kitchens have been closed there due to the lack of food and the lives of 55,000 inhabitants of this part of the city are threatened. The question of reintroducing airdrops to Mostar was raised as the only safe way to deliver humanitarian aid. Silajdzic expressed his satisfaction with the results of the airdrop operation that saved human lives on many occasions when there was no other way to deliver humanitarian aid. The Bosnian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has learned that the airdrop operation for Mostar will be resumed on Saturday 6 November.

Charles Redman was informed about gas supply problems in Sarajevo and that the supplies of gas reaching the city are insufficient even for the basic humanitarian needs.

Serbs Refuse To Let UN Commission Probe Mass Grave

AU0311202393 Paris AFP in English 2015 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Geneva, Nov 3 (AFP)—Serbian authorities, breaking an earlier promise, have prevented a UN war-crimes commission from investigating a mass grave near Vukovar, the United Nations said in a statement on Wednesday [3 November].

A war-crimes commission of 18 medical-legal experts, led by Sherif Basiuni and backed up by 33 Dutch soldiers and five Canadian experts, had been dispatched to Ovcara to exhume and identify about 200 Croatian patients and Vukovar hospital medical personnel who had allegedly been killed by Serbs during their takeover of the city in 1991.

The Serbian administration in Knin—which has controlled the Croatian territories of Krajina and Slavonia since the Serbo-Croatian war—had given its permission for the mission, the UN statement said, but local Serbian authorities refused to allow the investigation "as long as an overall political solution has not been found for the situation in ex-Yugoslavia."

Basiuni, who had returned to New York on Wednesday, said that the commission would continue its efforts "to remove all obstacles to the exhumation and identification of the remains" so that the project could be completed as soon as possible.

"Our immediate humanitarian aim must be to identify the remains of the people buried there and end some of the pain suffered by the families of the people who have disappeared, he said."

Basiuni said that the war-crimes commission, which was established by the UN Security Council in 1992, was continuing its work in other sectors of western Slavonia, the Medak enclave and Dubrovnik.

Abdic's Forces Reportedly Capture Two Villages

LD0311193593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] The defenders of the autonomous province of western Bosnia have managed to capture the very important Hill of Krakaca [about six km north of Cazin] and liberate the villages of Lidjani and Salkici in the fighting with the remainders of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. This has been announced by the information department of the Ministry of Defense and Police of the autonomous province of western Bosnia. This represents yet another defeat of Alija's supporters and the line of defense has been moved two km further toward Cazin.

Delic Meets Briquemont; Guarantees Civilian Safety

LD0311232393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Rasim Delic, the commander of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and General Francis Briquemont, the commander of the UN forces for Bosnia-Herzegovina, had a meeting in Sarajevo today. They discussed many important issues concerning the solving of the situation in the Republic, the Army press center has announced.

Gen. Briquemont informed commander Delic about his meetings yesterday with Gen. Cot and Thorvald Stoltenberg and about the efforts directed toward solving the problems concerning the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's helicopters in Medjugorje. Briquemont also spoke about the attempts to overcome the humanitarian crisis in the Republic and about the steps taken by the UN command to reopen the Metkovci-Mostar-Sarajevo route.

During the discussion of the situation in Vares, commander Delic stressed that Stupni Do must not be repeated and that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army would not allow anything similar to happen anywhere in the Republic. The Army and the 2d Corps command guarantee complete safety to all citizens in the Vares municipality, so there is no need for anyone to leave their homes. Any fear of the Army's units in the area is groundless, and I am, therefore, calling on the residents to act in line with a proclamation issued by the 2d Corps command, Delic stressed.

Talking about the situation in Bihac, Gen. Briquemont said that the UN's French Battalion unit deployed in the

Bihac district has been ordered to act neutrally and that humanitarian aid convoys have begun arriving in all parts of the Bihac enclave as part of the UNHCR mission.

Local Serbs, Muslims Reach Tentative Accord

LD0311130993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Banja Luka, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—If agreements reached at a meeting in Turbe near Travnik yesterday materialize, a certain kind of economic cooperation could begin soon, including further developments in providing humanitarian aid and carrying out exchanges of citizens and POW's, Milutin Grujicic, chairman of the commission for exchange of the 1st Krajina corps has told a TANJUG reporter.

The meeting was attended by Banja Luka Mayor Predrag Radic, Travnik Mayor Muhamed Curic, Mladen Vasic, the most prominent businessman from Zenica, representatives of charity organizations Merhamet, Caritas, and the regional Krajina Red Cross, and representatives of military commissions for the exchange of POW's.

Representatives of the Serb and Muslim sides met for the first time on Muslim territory, not on "no-man's land" as has so far been the case.

The general feeling is that both sides successfully agreed on all issues, although a final agreement should be reached at a meeting in Banja Luka next week. It has also been agreed that the dispatch of humanitarian aid to the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims in the Zenica region should be speeded up, that the Serb population should be allowed to leave Travnik and Zenica, and that 1,300 Serbs should be permitted to move out from Novi Travnik.

* Officials Discuss Muslim Internal Rifts

94AE0017A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 23 Oct 93 p 6

[Article by As'ad Taha: "Bihac's Dissident Muslim Leader Declares Alliance With Bosnia's Croats"]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo—Fikret Abdic, the dissident Bihac leader, has responded to the Bosnian Presidency's decision to exclude him by declaring the establishment of an alliance between his forces and the separatist Croatian forces, known as the Croatian Defense Council, in Bihac Province. This is an interesting step that offers a new proof of absolute Croatian support for Abdic.

AL-HAYAH has learned that a plan to replace Croatian and Serbian officials by Muslim officials in the Republic of Bosnia, with its Muslim majority, is facing strong internal opposition. [passage omitted]

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency ended lengthy sessions by adopting a resolution to dismiss three of its members and to replace them with new ones. It appointed Nijaz Durakovic, a Muslim, to replace Fikret Abdic, who announced last month the secession of the Bihac Province from the Republic of Bosnia when Bosnia's Parliament rejected an international settlement plan that gives Muslims a part of the territories of the former Republic of Yugoslavia that is not proportionate to their percentage of the population. Durakovic is the leader of the Social Democratic Party (the new name of the ex-communist party which includes several ethnic groups). An informed Bosnian source has said that Durakovic was selected because he ranked third in the democratic elections that were held in November 1990. [passage omitted]

In an interview with AL-HAYAH, Durakovic, an economics professor, has said, "The stormy developments sweeping Bosnia-Herzegovina and its Muslims do not permit the creation of intellectual or ideological rifts when Bosnia's Muslims are exposed to the danger of annihilation." He added, "The primary objective now is to unite the internal ranks, to exert efforts to keep Bosnia united, and to reject any international pressures." Durakovic pointed out that the "existing given facts concerning the Muslims aren't as tragic as characterized by the world media. We can still accomplish something."

AL-HAYAH has learned from a Bosnian Government source that heated debates are underway to replace the Parliament speaker, a Serb, and the prime minister, a Croat, by Muslims. However, the opposition believes that such a step would deprive the Bosnian Government of its pluralistic partisan and ethnic character.

Tudjman News Conference on Peace Initiative

LD0211223393 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1926 GMT 2 Nov 93

[News conference held by President Franjo Tudjman on 2 November in Zagreb on his peace initiative, with questions by unidentified media editors—recorded]

[Text] [Editor] Mr. President, there is no doubt that your peace initiative will draw great attention on the part of the public in Croatia and abroad. What do you expect reactions to be in Belgrade and Knin, considering the upcoming elections in Serbia and in the UN Protected Areas in Croatia?

[Tudjman] I think that my initiative will cause various comments and relations [as received], especially when you speak about Belgrade and Knin. I believe that in Belgrade—and in relation to Belgrade and Knin too—there are people who have realized that pursuance of the current policies will not lead anywhere, especially for the present advocators of that imperialistic Serbian policy of creating a greater Serbia. They have been put not only in international isolation, which has acquired the most widespread proportions, but also in an economically disastrous situation. Consequently, they will be forced to normalize relations with Croatia.

Naturally, there will be people who will oppose this, who will want to continue the war. However, I believe that they will be a minority. I am convinced therefore, that the initiative presented as it is on the broadest basis of guaranteeing—on Croatia's part—civil and ethnic rights of the Serbs in Croatia, will meet with positive reactions.

[Editor] There has been a lot of talk about the so-called global solution. However, I do not know what exactly it involves. Could you compare your initiative with what is offered in the idea of a global solution. At first glance, it can be seen that you want resolute and serious action to be taken immediately, while the global solution fades away in the coming months, so that humanitarian aid and war crimes remain the focus of attention, while a number of serious problems are somehow left aside, perhaps because of disillusionment, but perhaps because of the strategies of certain powers. Your initiative also shows that you propose that the Geneva conference should include some other countries, too. Does that mean that those countries are ready to support your, we can now say our, Croatian initiative?

[Tudjman] You have already partly answered your question about the global initiative, that is, the initiative for a global solution. The initiative has a certain...[pauses] Which is that all problems on the territory of the former Yugoslavia should be dealt with on the basis of more or less the same principles. This primarily refers to the rights of national minorities, that is, the fact that one cannot demand greater rights for the Serbs in Croatia, than Serbia is ready to grant to either Albanians or Hungarians. We should also not forget, of course, the large Croatian population in Vojvodina, in Serbia.

Therefore, we can see some good intentions in the idea to hold a conference on a global solution. However, it is still important to note that the preparations for such a conference would, as they have said, take six months or more, which would prolong the agony in Bosnia-Herzegovina and deepen the crisis. Of course, as you yourself said, it creates possibilities that certain powers—I do not mean formally states, but certain tendencies—might realize their own aims, as they would like the problem to be solved in this or that way. But if you read or listened to our initiative carefully, you can see that it in fact contains the important elements of the idea on global solutions. Therefore, it is a kind of mixture between the continuation of the Geneva conference, the solving of specific problems, but also of problems of general interest.

I do not know what could be particularly interesting to you, but I believe that one of the main proposals, which can rally support in international circles, is the proposal to sign a joint declaration on mutual recognition at the renewed conference. This is one of the major issues that comes upon various forms of resistance in bilateral talks because someone cannot give up supporting Krajinas, or this or that. A general solemn declaration on this could mean progress in solving other issues.

In the same way, no one knows how much of the problem of succession [of Yugoslavia's rights and obligations] we have solved. Therefore, the call to solve that problem—which is important especially for Croatia, but for others as well—can also contribute to a speedier solution to all, even the most specific issues. However, let us go back to what is important, to the first...[pauses] It seems to me that with a comprehensive initiative such as this one, the Croatian side gives true possibilities for concessions in line with international aspirations for finding a peaceful solution to the problem of Serbs in Croatia.

[Editor] You have mentioned the idea of mutual recognition. Mr. [Milan] Djukic, leader of SNS [Serbian People's Party; Serbian party in Croatia which cooperates with Croatian authorities], recently said at a news conference that problems in the territory of the former Yugoslavia could be solved if Croatia was the first to recognize Serbia, that is, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Tudjman] Croatia is prepared to recognize the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia if it recognizes Croatia. This proposal does not affect only Croatia and Yugoslavia, i.e., Serbia and Montenegro, but also all other states. This is why we think that it would be acceptable for almost all participants in the conference, i.e., for all states created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. I respect Mr. Djukic's efforts and many of his standpoints, but I do not know why he is of the opinion that Croatia should be the first to offer recognition. Croatia did not commit an aggression. Serbia was responsible for this, and it is still in a way contributing to the occupation of Croatian areas.

Belgrade supplies the rebel Serbs in the UN Protected Areas, not only with money, but also with weapons and special units, even with defense ministers [Tudjman laughs]. Recently I was asked how the admiral sailed to...[pauses] So the real problem is for those responsible in Belgrade to give up further aggression against the sovereign and independent Croatia. Our recognition of Serbia or Yugoslavia is not a problem. They have to recognize Croatia within its present borders, which can be achieved through this proposal of ours, within a framework of a solemn declaration on mutual recognition of all states. This is important not only for Croatia, but it is also a problem for Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia.

[Editor] Mr. President, your initiative mentions "the Serbian ethnic community" instead of "the Serbian national minority." Could this also be construed as a gesture of goodwill?

[Tudjman] Certainly. They resent being referred to as a national minority, they have been taught in Serbia not to be a national minority anywhere, although they unabashedly use this expression in the case of the numerically far superior Albanian population in Kosovo.

We, on our side, do not wish any formal reasons to obstruct the establishment of trust—the trust completely lost between the majority Croatian population and the Serbian ethnic community in Croatia. We are expressing our goodwill in this way, we are showing that we are ready—that is in the interest of Croatia as well as in the interest of peace in this part of the world—to do everything we can to facilitate the resolution of the Serbian question in Croatia.

[Editor] Mr. President, an optimist would say that half the job has been done with this initiative. However, the other side is an open question. In your opinion, how realistic would it be to expect a reasonable and positive response from the other side and what role should, must, the international community play in this context?

[Tudjman] You see, like yourself, I have declared myself an optimist in this regard. I am truly an optimist because I believe that all those in positions of authority responsible for such a situation—and we all know what the situation is—that there must be some reasonable people among them who realize that the preservation of the status quo can only lead to an even greater disaster for the population of the UN Protected Area zones, as well as the population of Serbia, which has been backing them.

I believe that there will be those among the Serbian population in all these areas, from Knin to Baranja and Vukovar, who will accept the hand of reconciliation. This will be in the interest of the Serbian population in these areas and in the interest of Serbia, because the fate of Serbia as a state is also at stake. This also applies to the population of Serbia because the sanctions have brought it into such an unenviable, disastrous economic situation. The international community is playing a positive role in this respect.

Our public justifiably raises a lot of objections concerning UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] work. However, when doing this, people forget that at the beginning, when we signed the agreement on the deployment of the [UN] peace forces, UNPROFOR had a certain positive role because the Yugoslav Army had left. But UNPROFOR's mandate is what it is, and it allows them only to keep peace, not to enforce it by the use of armed force. Of course, depending on UNPROFOR's [ethnic] composition, they had different relations with the Croatian and Serbian population.

However, the international community is interested in establishing peace, and it has proved that it adheres to the principles of the UN Charter, and that it is interested in building international relations on a basis that will create conditions for the stability of international order. This was clearly reflected in UN Security Council's latest Resolution 871, that again confirms Croatia's territorial integrity, and therefore, searches for a solution to the Serb issue within Croatia.

Regardless of the fact that the crisis with the UN Protected Areas in Croatia, and the crisis that is going on in Bosnia-Herzegovina, is a consequence of disunited stands of the European states within the former European Community and now the European Union—and between European states and Russia, and on the other side the United States—nevertheless, despite these differences, the prevalent desire in the international community is in principle to establish peace on the basis of recognizing the existing borders, and not to allow national minorities in any country to be granted the right to self-determination. Because, if that was the case, there would no longer be any international order, but general chaos would take place.

This is why, in conducting our policy we counted as much on our own strength and our own policies, as on the international community that aspires toward a just international order.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, Lord Owen recently told the press that Bosnia-Herzegovina will be divided into two or three states and that Croatia bears the greatest responsibility for such a situation; he also said he felt Serbia is in favor of the preservation of the Bosnian state. This was said in Luxembourg recently and was carried by the press. Would you care to comment on this statement, in the context of a global resolution of this initiative?

[Tudjman] I must admit that I have never heard Lord Owen say that Croatia bears the greatest responsibility for what you said. This would surprise me; something must have been quoted out of context because Lord Owen is certainly aware that Croatia is the least in favor of the idea about the disintegration of the Bosnia-Herzegovina union. Croatia was, and remains, in favor of the preservation of the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I personally signed an agreement with Mr. Izetbegovic and his delegation; this agreement was made public, as well as the agreement on cooperation between the Bosnian Muslim and Croat republics within the framework of the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr.—that is, Lord Owen has also been acquainted with this. Lord Owen also knows, and this is public knowledge, that Izetbegovic signed the agreement on cooperation between the Muslim and Croat republics within the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the 14th and that he signed an agreement with the Serbs two days later, when he practically proclaimed that he was in favor of partition, in favor of the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that the Muslim Bosnian republic should inherit all of the present Bosnia-Herzegovina's rights—UN membership and so on. Therefore, I do not know how Lord Owen could have said that Croatia is responsible for the possible disappearance of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to the Geneva proposals on resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina—speaking about a union, the conclusion was reached that Bosnia-Herzegovina could only survive as a union of republics—the question of future communal life or separation should be resolved democratically, through mutual agreement or a referendum. All this is the result of the crisis in former Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is perfectly clear even to the uninformed observer that Bosnia-Herzegovina can really survive as a union on confederal foundations. [Portugese diplomat] Cutilheiro came to this conclusion on behalf of the [Lisbon] conference at the beginning of last year, when the idea about a cantonal system in Bosnia-Herzegovina was born, and this later resulted in the idea about the union of republics.

[Reporter] Mr. President, I would like to explore that question further by asking you whether there are any bases for the rumors coming from secret diplomatic circles whereby the international community—that is, important elements in the world's politics—have practically abandoned the Geneva agreement on the union of three republics in Bosnia-Herzegovina, thus allowing Karadzic to incorporate into Serbia the land which he has conquered, which is about 65 to 70 percent of the territory [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], while the remainder of the territory is offered and demanded for a Croat-Muslim confederation, a proposal supported by American, German, and Turkish foreign policy.

[Tudjman] There are certain grounds for such rumors. Namely, after everything that has happened, after the Geneva agreement in principle on a union, and after the agreements which Izetbegovic signed with Croatia, with us, and with the Serbs, it seems that the prevalent opinion among serious international circles is that it would be difficult to hold Bosnia-Herzegovina together. Consequently, there have been proposals to the effect that Serbs might be allowed to join Serbia, but the piece of information that the Serbs hold 60 to 70 percent of the territory is not correct. During negotiations the Serbs agreed to give up a considerable part of the territory, so as Mr. Stoltenberg recently said, we are talking about 2 or 3 percent of disputed territory which the Serbs should give to the Muslims in order for the Muslims to accept the agreement. Therefore, what is at issue at the moment is not so much the territorial division, but the war orientation on the part of the Muslim leaders who count on achieving I do not know what in the war—not so much the gaining of territory, but the realization of their original aspiration to keep Bosnia as an alleged civic state.

However, let us go back to your question. Yes, there have been ideas—considering the fact that the Serbs have gained so much during the war, and that they want to secede at any cost—that only Croats and Muslims should remain in the union. But as far as I am familiar with the opinion of the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and from the point of view of the Croatian state—because the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina is not only the problem of the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also of the Croatian state because of its borders; the fate of Bosnia-Herzegovina can have a considerable impact on Croatia's fate in the future considering its geopolitical position and its borders—such a solution would be unacceptable for both the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and for Croatia.

Why? Because the Croatian nation would remain at the mercy of the numerically superior Muslim population. We should remember—even without going far back into the past—that according to the 1948 census the Croatian nation accounted for 24 percent of the population in Bosnia-Herzegovina—to be precise, 23.9 percent. However, seeing that in Bosnia-Herzegovina there was an absolute Serbian hegemony in one period, which was then followed by a Muslim hegemony, the number of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina was constantly decreasing and has now fallen to about 17 percent. Therefore, if the Croatian nation remained in the union with only Muslims, who are dominant in respect of the Muslim leadership's tendencies to create an Islamic state, even when they speak about a civic state, the survival of the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina would be endangered, and consequently, the state and strategic safety of the Croatian state would be brought into question in the future.

Therefore, the proposal that the republic of Srpska can leave Bosnia but for Croatia to remain within the union [as heard] is, as far as the Croats from Bosnia are concerned, or would be, unacceptable for both the Croats of Bosnia and the Croatian state. In the spirit of our agreement and negotiations with Izetbegovic and other Muslim leaders and in the spirit of what has in any case emerged from within Muslim ranks—there is a considerable number of Muslims who are genuinely in favor of cooperation with the Croats and, in addition to Mr. Abdic in western Bosnia, there are others such as Hadziosmanovic [former leader of the Muslim Party for Democratic Action in Herzegovina], Pohara [former senior officer in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army], who advocate cooperation with the Croats—we cannot but favor ever closer cooperation between a Bosnian Muslim

republic and a Croatian republic within the union. Furthermore, if what Izetbegovic has signed with the Serbs—that the republic of Srpska can become part of Serbia—is allowed to be implemented it would be logical to expect the Croatian republic to join Croatia. Even if this does come about, we shall still be in favor of consolidating, of developing the strongest possible friendly relations with the Muslim republic, which would be based on an agreement on friendship and on not just joint cooperation but joint defense as well. This, I think, would be in the interest of both the Croatian people —since, in my view, a section of the Croatian population would have to remain within the Muslim Bosnian republic—and of the state of Croatia, and, in view of other international problems, even of developments which in these areas have been in evidence throughout not just centuries but millennia, ever since the division of the Roman Empire, Christianity, and so on into eastern part and western parts. I think that such a policy would be in the interest of both Croatia and the West, and in the interest of developing more normal relations along this line which has been dividing civilizations.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, the peace initiative envisages the urgent return of refugees both to Croatia and to Bosnia-Herzegovina. There is a large number of those who should be tried as war criminals, according to international law, living in the areas to which refugees should return. Could they be an obstacle to the peace initiative and to the return of refugees? Who is responsible for bringing them to court?

[Tudjman] It is obvious that the return of refugees and displaced people is one of the most important issues whose resolution ought to begin. It does not only have a humanitarian aspect, but is also of political importance. You rightly mentioned, however, that the resolution of this issue could complicate the issue of war crimes. We have to be realistic. I believe it is good that the international community has raised the issue of punishing war criminals on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. We have accepted it, and we shall constructively cooperate in that.

Likewise, however, I believe that the most important issue is the resolution of all problems facing us, one of them being that refugees and displaced people should return to their homes. In this we have to bear in mind that this does not only refer to the Croats. We in Croatia are most affected, these are refugees from Croatian areas. But a part of the Serbian population also left those areas. The problem is then further exacerbated by the refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Therefore, I urge that, for political and humane reasons, we should enable the return and that this problem of responsibility of those who have committed war crimes should be treated as an issue of secondary importance. If we start investigating who all the war criminals are, then we will exacerbate the problems instead of first resolving the current urgent issues, while participation in the war came as a consequence of certain circumstances and only those who really stained their hands with innocent blood should stand trial for war crimes. This problem, to put it in this way, should be reduced to the minimal necessary level both for political and humane reasons in order not to impede the peace process by exacerbating that issue, and in that way prolong the war and war crimes. It seems to me that in this we need to have tolerance, precisely for those humane reasons, but likewise we need to abide by the fact that those who really perpetrated war crimes should be called to account.

[Correspondent] Have you got a more defined idea of how to make progress in tackling the problems of UNPA's [United Nations protected areas], of occupied areas in Croatia? Ideas, proposals, goodwill have again been reiterated by Croatia but it seems that we have not moved forward. What, in you view, would be a sign that progress has been made?

[Tudjman] I think that initially the best indication would be if an agreement is signed on a cease-fire, on ending hostilities. This, in a way and quite understandably, implies the disarming of paramilitary formations and Croatia's commitment that it would carry out no military operations against the UNPA's. Well, if we are to be objective, we have to admit that, while on the one hand the Croatian people, the Croatian population, the Croatian authorities justly feel indignation at constant provocations and destruction of Croatian areas, we must at the same time recognize that it was through deceiving the Serbian population in these areas and through the results of our military actions that parts of the Serbian population live under the impression that Croatia has no other aspiration but to resolve the Serbian issue by military means and to resort to ethnic cleansing. This is not true. In other words, we want our proposal to sign an agreement on ending all hostilities to serve as evidence that we favor a political solution. What we are proposing is to build trust gradually in order to achieve normalization in overall relations.

First steps would include the opening of roads. I'll tell you something: I believe—I was invited by the county of Brod [east of Zagreb] to visit them. I told them I would come to them via [Serb-held] Okucani before the end of this year, no, most probably as early as this month. For, if this does not happen it will mean that the problem has not been solved. So, to open the Zagreb-Okucani-Brod-Zupanja road and the Zagreb-Split road via Knin would be the first step. It would be followed by efforts to allow and make it possible for the population there, the Serbian population there [in UNPA zones], who have been living there partly under the terror of Serbian extremists and in great difficulties and with shortages—to allow them to live in normal conditions like people in all other areas.

I think that events will start moving in that direction. Anything else would be contrary to the imperatives of time, to the interests of not just Croatia but of the Serbian population in Croatia, of Serbia, and of peace in this part of the world. We are genuinely in favor of seeing

the people, who have been living in those areas under the completely wrong impression that they are threatened with annihilation by the Croatian side, that they cannot expect anything good... [pauses] representatives of the local Serbs who negotiated with our representatives were amazed, so to speak, to hear what we were prepared to offer them and to hear how people lived in other parts of Croatia. It seems to me that after all that has happened so far, and in light of the turmoil in their ranks, we are about to see this problem resolved in this way and that is why I came up with my peace initiative.

[Editor] Thank you, Mr. President. We genuinely hope that your initiative will be effective and of historic importance.

[Tudjman] Thank you.

Krajina Rejects Proposal

LD0311182093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1720 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Knin, Nov 3 (TANJUG)—The government of the republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.) on Wednesday [3 November] rejected the proposal of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on 'giving guarantees of self-rule and autonomy to local Serbs as not serious.'

'Such offers are as serious as if the R.S.K. would offer Croatia special status in Krajina,' it was said in a statement issued by the R.S.K. government.

The R.S.K. was set up in 1991 in predominantly Serb-populated areas within the administrative borders of Croatia in response to Croatia's secession from the former Yugoslavia and its attempt to reduce the status of the Serb people there to one of a national minority. The population of the R.S.K. has at two referendums decided against any kind of return to Zagreb's embrace.

The R.S.K. government said the new initiative to seek a global solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia also represents a step backwards in relation to the solutions offered so far.

The search for new solutions represents, as the statement said, admittance of the international community of its mistake—from the early recognition of some Yugoslav republics, to the failure of the policy which tried to put all blame for the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the bloody war on the Serb people.

The R.S.K. government underscored that new political subjects—new Serb states—have been created in these areas in the last three years, which is a fact that cannot be ignored if aspirations to resolve the crisis are at all serious.

The R.S.K. is still in favor of peaceful resolution to all disputes but without prejudicing political solutions and imposing conditions, something the Croat side always does when important steps forwards are made in the talks. This has also been confirmed in Oslo, the statement said.

Although the delegations of the R.S.K. and Croatia on Tuesday afternoon at negotiations in Oslo achieved maximum agreement on disputed questions, including an end to hostilities and establishing economic cooperation, everything fell through when Croat negotiators were ordered from Zagreb to change their negotiating position.

In a dispatch sent by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, the Croatian delegation was instructed to treat the R.S.K. as a part of the Croatian state, and communications and economic facilities in the R.S.K. as part of Croatia's economic system which was flatly rejected by the Serb side.

Zagreb Radio on Suspension of Oslo Talks

LD0311191693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] As we have already informed you, Serbian negotiators from Croatia have walked out of a meeting with representatives of the Croatian Government in Norway. An agreement on cease-fire in Croatia should have been reached at the meeting, HINA [Croatian news agency] has learned from the Croatian president's office.

This was yet another unsuccessful attempt to reach a comprehensive cease-fire agreement—which a Croatian delegation has discussed with representatives of Serbian insurgents from Croatia in Norway since Monday at the talks initiated and attended by international mediators—because the Serb representatives suspended their participation in negotiations.

HINA has learned that the Croatian delegation to the talks was authorized to accept a wide-ranging dialogue with the Serbian side on the well-known and clearly established principled stands. However, representatives of the Serbian authorities from Croatia's temporarily occupied areas wanted to negotiate only in the capacity of a state delegation, and in accordance with that they proceeded from a stance that these were interstate negotiations. Not only is this unacceptable to the Republic of Croatia; it completely contravenes all previous stances of the international community, including the United Nations. After President Tudjman informed Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, about his peace initiative and asked him to inform the authorities of Serbia and Montenegro and the local Serbian authorities in Croatia about it, the Serbian negotiators used that as a direct pretext to quit the talks.

The first part of President Tudjman's initiative, as is known, speaks about ways of resolving the Serbian issue in Croatia in accordance with the constitution and laws of the Republic of Croatia. After the Serbian negotiators

walked out of the negotiations, the Croatian delegation returned from Oslo to Zagreb.

Krajina Official Comments

AU0311211093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] The delegation of the republic of Serbian Krajina today returned to Belgrade from Oslo. Goran Hadzic and Slobodan Jarcevic held talks in the Norwegian capital with a Croatian delegation on ceasing fire, ending hostilities, and establishing traffic and business links. However, as the protagonists from the republic of Serbian Krajina claim, at the moment when certain accords had already been reached, the agreement was suddenly interrupted. And the reason was an urgent message from Croatian President Tudjman. Dnevnik [newscast] asked Slobodan Jarcevic, foreign minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina, for a comment.

[Jarcevic] Mr. Tudjman's message is consistent with what he stated yesterday. What he read were only the facts with which he prevented the Croatian delegation from carrying through things that brought them from Zagreb. In other words, talks must not be held until we identify our roads and all businesses in Krajina as property of the Croatian state. This property would be controlled, managed, and influenced from Zagreb, by the Croatian state.

In such a situation the signing of the cease-fire agreement, which had almost been agreed on, could not take place. In order to salvage our negotiations after the telegram that arrived yesterday morning, we offered two more cease-fire proposals to Croatia by 0030. We agreed not to talk about the territories occupied by the Croatian Army in 1992 and 1993. However, the Croatian side did not want to accept even such an attractive proposal, or better said, it did not dare accept it, because they could not take any further steps after they received the telegram.

Serb Krajina Leader Hopes for Resumption of Talks

LD0311171293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], told TANJUG today at Belgrade airport that the talks held in Norway and suspended by the Croatian side could be resumed if Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman become involved and reduce tensions in global Serbian-Croatian relations.

He added that he hopes that cochairman Stoltenberg's initiative has not failed, and suggested that the talks be resumed.

Hadzic recalled that the negotiations were suspended when a successful completion was within reach because "Tudjman sent a letter insisting, in contravention of the previous agreement, on political issues."

The RSK president expressed conviction that Croatia might have to accept the resumption of talks.

Presidential Adviser Anticipates Talks With Serbs

LD0411094693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 4 Nov 93

[Text] Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the national security office and the Croatian president's national security adviser, stated last night that a dialogue with representatives of the local Serbs from UN protected areas had not broken up and that very soon, possibly in 10 days or two weeks, a new meeting would be proposed. Sarinic led a Croatian delegation at the Oslo talks with representatives of the local Serbs from UN protected areas.

In the statement he said that the negotiating strategy of the Croatian delegation was based on President Franjo Tudjman's peace initiative. Assessing the negotiations, he concluded that results were worse than the Croatian delegation had expected and aspired to. He added that no agreements had been signed, particularly not an agreement on the cessation of hostilities.

Tudjman Calls on Izetbegovic To Stop Offensive

LD0311155293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] We now broadcast a letter sent by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency:

Esteemed Mr. President,

I have been informed about the latest dramatic developments in central Bosnia and the intensification of an offensive by your forces, which is forcing tens of thousands of Croatians to flee their centuries-old homes in Vares, Novi Travnik, and other towns in that part of Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to save their bare life before the pogrom.

This horrific tragedy is taking place at a time when, after our meetings and signed agreements, I was beginning to believe in the possibility of ending the conflicts and achieving a long-term improvement of relations and cooperation between our two nations, which is in the interest of all of us, and the restoration of peace in this part of the world.

Mr. President, you are aware that I have condemned all crimes perpetrated by any side, and that I have invested all my authority in order to see the signed agreements fully implemented. At this dramatic moment I am calling on you to use your authority and to order the discontinuation of the offensive against Vares and other Croat-populated areas. On my part I will do everything within my power for the just peace to be restored, which is also the purpose of my peace initiative addressed to all

international factors, says the letter sent from Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to Alija Izetbegovic.

Granic Protests to Silajdzic

LD0311210393 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] We have just received the text of the letter sent to Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister:

I am deeply moved and enraged by the news about the dramatic and tragic development of events in the Croatian enclave of Vares, Granic writes. The fierce attacks launched by your forces have resulted in the mass exodus of 20,000 Croats from this region. This has confirmed our worst fears about the fate of thousands of innocent Croatian civilians, women, children, and the elderly in central Bosnia, not only in Vares but in all the remaining Croatian enclaves, especially Novi Travnik.

Therefore, I am appealing to you again on behalf of President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman, as I have already told you verbally, to do everything you possibly can to immediately stop further attacks in the entire region of central Bosnia and prevent the continuation of the human tragedy and the further deterioration of the already inadmissible and unacceptable situation in that area.

Any different approach and especially the continuation of offensive operations by your forces will profoundly and seriously affect our mutual relations.

I wish to remind you that the Croatian side has done its utmost in the implementation of the joint declaration, especially regarding humanitarian issues, although you well know that the prisoners from the left bank of the Neretva have still not been released.

Likewise, on behalf of the Republic of Croatia, President Tudjman and I have most vehemently condemned all violations of humanitarian law and law governing warfare and all the crimes committed, including the atrocity in Stupni Do.

We must not permit the terrible spiral of war crimes to continue unwinding. It is precisely the current aggressive and offensive operations by your forces that are threatening to result in fresh crimes against the civilian population and have caused one of the largest exoduses in the course of this war, with all the inevitable consequences on the humanitarian situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the Republic of Croatia.

Therefore, we are compelled to inform the international political establishment and the world public about the development of events and its implications.

I am appealing to you once again to use your influence so the aggressive attacks against the Croatian population can immediately stop, and we can continue resolving open questions through talks—in the spirit of the joint declaration of 14 September and President Franjo Tudjman's peace initiative—with the aim of restoring peace in the interest of the Croatian and Muslim peoples and in order to continue searching for a political resolution to the crisis.

Sincerely yours, Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister.

Granic Calls For Urgent UNSC Session on Bosnia

LD0311222993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] In his letter to UN Security Council [UNSC] Chairman Jose Luis Jesus, Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic has demanded the convocation of an urgent Security Council session devoted to the tragic deterioration of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially in its central parts where some 150,000 Bosnian Croats are enduring terrible hardships and are being forced to flee.

Among other things, Granic demands that safe havens be established in central Bosnia and that the UN Protection Force undertake the necessary measures for the protection of the Croats.

Government Denies Massacre of Serbs in Medak

LD0211140193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1303 GMT 2 Nov 93

[Text] The Croatian Government today released a statement denying accusations made in an UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] report dated 7 October. The report accuses the Croatian Army of raiding Medak in the Gospic area.

The Croatian Government stated that they had set up a commission to analyze the events in question and together with reports from the Ministry of Defense they claim that the UNPROFOR's accusation of a deliberate massacre of Serb civilians during any maneuver by the Croatian Army are incorrect. The government statement further says that the UNPROFOR's accusations were made hastiliy and are not in line with the proclaimed nonbiased stance of the UNPROFOR.

Federal

Belgrade Radio Comments on Tudjman Peace Proposal

AU0311212693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Commentary by Slobodan Jankovic]

[Text] Offering his view of the way out of the crisis, Croatian President Tudjman deliberately interrupted the talks in Norway, reckoning on a much greater gain than a truce with the forces of the republic of Serbian Krajina. His package, which included Bosnia as well, has been put together in such a way that it offers a seemingly simple solution: Reaching peace by using much force. However, a powder storage room cannot be cleared by hurling a Molotov cocktail inside.

What has Zagreb in fact offered to the world and to the warring sides? With a delay of several years, the Croatian president hinted to the Krajina Serbs they will be given local self-authority and autonomy. According to this package, Croatia would remain within the borders it had in the former Yugoslavia and immediately be given back the right to use all roads, railroads, and power lines that are on the territory of the republic of Serbian Krajina. This is all useful, easy, albeit far from reality.

For Bosnia, in which the local Croats are receiving blows in duels with Muslim forces, Franjo Tudjman is offering a refreshed Geneva conference with reinforcements in the international team. Featuring on the list of participating countries are Germany and Turkey and NATO forces are assigned the role of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] with the authorization to use force.

It remains unclear why nobody in some of the world diplomatic centers thought of this before, but the Zagreb cry of Eureka lived for only one night. Thorvald Stoltenberg rejected this initiative of Tudjman's with the explanation that there is no basis to resume peace negotiations and added that he does not expect them to be convened by the end of this year. The Norwegian diplomat and UN envoy defended such a stand by saying that the conference must be prepared very well and that there must exist a draft of a peace plan as well as of a plan for lifting the sanctions on Yugoslavia. Stoltenberg also numbers the draft international plan for restoration and revival of the war-destroyed country and for long-term humanitarian aid to Bosnia under necessary prerequisites.

Such well-argued reasoning has buried the initiative from Zagreb. Or is it only from Zagreb? The negotiation process has been stopped and the danger of conflict resuming along the line of separation between Serbs and Croats has become all the greater. The already difficult work the two cochairmen face in finding a peace plan acceptable for all has been made even more difficult as the Croatian proposal imposed a solution which is not really a solution. Pushing the peace process back to previous stages is a move that will only bring new sufferings to the regions of the former Yugoslavia.

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[Editorial Report]

Speculations on New FRY Constitution

Reporting a rumor that a team of Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) experts is secretly drawing up a new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) constitution, the 8 October issue of the Belgrade weekly NIN declares that the creation of five federal units is the most significant new element in the rumored constitution.

NIN notes that there are two versions of how the territory of the present Yugoslavia will be divided to form the five units:

—According to Srdjan Darmanovic and Ranko Krivokapic of the Social Democratic Party of Montenegro, the five regions will be Vojvodina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Eastern and Western Kosovo. In this scenario, Western Kosovo would encompass mostly Metohija and those parts of the present province where a "relatively significant number of Serbs live," as well as part of the present Serbia proper "sufficiently large so that Serbs in this region are more numerous than Albanians." Eastern Kosovo would be populated almost entirely by ethnic Albanians who would be granted complete civil rights, and the plan envisions the possibility that Serbia might be willing to give up this region completely and let it join Albania. By losing this part of Kosovo, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic "would receive the Republic of Serbian Krajina and organize the union of the Serbian states." NIN comments that this option sounds like "pure fantasy," since it is not clear what would make the Croats agree to give up one-quarter of their territory and receive nothing in return.

—According to Liberal Alliance of Montenegro leader Slavko Perovic, the territorial division would be somewhat different. Along with the "standard" Vojvodina, Serbia, and Montenegro, there would also be the Raska region and one unified territory of Kosovo. NIN points out that, for the past one-and-one-half years, members of the Montenegro Serbian Radical Party, Serbian National Renewal, and the National Party have been referring to the Sandzak region as the Raska region, adding that the change in the name was intended as groundwork for future changes. NIN notes that this option is unfavorable for Montenegro, since the newly formed federal unit of Raska would absorb the part of Montenegro between the Tara river and the Serbian border.

NIN reports that the Montenegrin Social Democrats and Liberals claim that the new constitution will abolish all the confederal elements of the present constitution,

resulting in "complete unitarization of the state and concentration of power" in the hands of a single man—Slobodan Milosevic.

Religion in Croatian Army

Several issues of the Croatian Army weekly journal HRVATSKI VOJNIK report on pilgrimages by Croatian Army units to Catholic religious shrines and on the importance of religion and prayer in soldiers' lives.

The 4 June issue reports on a pilgrimage by Croatian soldiers and officers to the shrine of Lourdes in France. According to the paper, the pilgrimage was organized following an official invitation by the Zagreb Diocese to the Croatian Defense Ministry. After Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak accepted the invitation, the organization of the pilgrimage was entrusted to the Political Administration of the Defense Ministry, which coordinated the effort with Monsignor Juraj Jezerinac, the Zagreb bishop responsible for the spiritual needs of Croatian Army personnel. In addition to the report on the pilgrimage, the paper publishes interviews with the chief of the Defense Ministry's Political Administration, Vjekoslav Krizanec, and Croatian Army General Ante Roso in which they discuss the pilgrimage and its importance to the Croatian Army. The paper also publishes a "Prayer of the Croatian Soldier" on the occasion of the "first Croatian military pilgrimage" to Lourdes.

The 8 October issue carries on its cover a picture of a procession of Croat soldiers during the "first Croatian military pilgrimage to Marija Bistrica," a popular Croatian shrine to the Virgin Mary. The same issue contains three articles reporting on the pilgrimage and texts of speeches by a Croatian defense ministry representative and Croatian Cardinal Franjo Kuharic.

The 10 September edition of HRVATSKI VOJNIK carries an article entitled "What Is a Rosary?" The paper states that the rosary is a symbol of Croatian freedom and victory in war and that, through the rosary, "just as through a transistor," a soldier will receive energy and "strength from heaven." An article in the 24 September issue discusses the beneficial influence of the rosary and the importance of learning how to pray well.

Serb Theater Director Suspended

The 1 October issue of the Belgrade weekly NIN carries an interview with Aleksandar Djaja, an ethnic Serb who was recently suspended from his position as the director of the Provincial National Theater in Pristina for having given his consent for the presentation of a play, "Okamenjeni Svatovi" [The Petrified Wedding Party], based on a work of an Albanian writer Ismail Kadare. Djaja says in the interview that he had a meeting with Serbian Minister of Culture Djoko Stojicic, who told him that the ministry has decided to propose to the government of Serbia that Djaja be reinstated. The minister said, according to Djaja, that this decision was based on the fact that his work, with the exception of "Okamenjeni Svatovi," was "very correct" and "exceptionally successful." Djaja says, however, that upon his return to Pristina the local Serb government opposed his reinstatement and nominated a new candidate for theater director: Radosav Stojanovic, a journalist for the Pristina daily JEDINSTVO.

Federalization of Croatia "Unrealizable"

The 28 September issue of the Zagreb weekly DANAS, discussing the Declaration on the Regional Organization of the Republic of Croatia adopted on 16 September in Opatija, Dalmatia at a meeting of the Association of Regional Parties of Croatia (ARSH), notes that the declaration demands not only a change in the constitutional model of regional self-management but also in the federalization of Croatia. DANAS cites the ARSH declaration to the effect that the unity of a state is realized through its defense and internal affairs ministries, its foreign and monetary policy, and the common foundation of the government system, with "everything else" reserved for "regional authority and freedoms." One does not have to be a legal expert, DANAS observes, to understand that, according to the declaration, regions would have more rights than units of a federation do and that the central government would have far less authority than the federal governments of most developed federations, since the declaration also demands autonomous legislatures and participation in the central state administration for regions. Such a demand is explicitly unconstitutional, DANAS argues, since Article 1 of the Croatian Constitution stipulates that ?the Republic of Croatia is a united and indivisible state whose sovereignty is also indivisible. DANAS declares that the demand is "politically unrealizable," and that Croatia, "formally or de facto" will never be a federation.

Application of Bosnian Principle in Croatia, Serbia

Mirko Klarin writes in the 11-12 September issue of Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA that, if the ethnic principle on which the Union of the Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina is to be founded ends the war in Bosnia, it is logical to expect that the same principle be applied in Croatia and Serbia. That would mean the establishment of the union of the republics of Croatia and Serbia with a weak central government and a high degree of autonomy for their sovereign "constitutive units."

The union of Croatia could be composed of several republics with Croatian, Serbian, and perhaps Italian or "Istrian" majorities whose territories could be linked by corridors under international control: "The Geneva cartographers could promptly draw up corresponding maps and calculate the percentage of territories that would belong to individual constitutive units," Klarin states. The union of Serbia, according to the same principle, would consist of the Serbian, Muslim, Albanian, Hungarian, and Montenegrin republics linked together in a similar way, with corresponding internationally guaranteed access to the sea and rivers. In both unions, towns with mixed populations could be temporarily placed

under the protectorate of the United Nations and European Community or other international organizations.

Serbia

Milosevic: Serbs Will Not Accept Foreign 'Masters'

AU0311204093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] The talks between Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, and the chief and responsible editors of the leading information houses in Serbia are under way. This meeting has come about at the initiative of TANJUG, which is celebrating its 50th anniversary. President Milosevic responded to the demand of the chief editors to reply to the most topical domestic and foreign political questions of vital significance for the citizens of Serbia.

The president of the Republic of Serbia received Slobodan Jovanovic, director of the TANJUG agency, and Dusan Zupan, the agency's chief and responsible editor, and answered several of their questions. Taking part in the talks with President Milosevic were the editors in chief of Belgrade newspapers, radio, and television: Zivorad Minovic and Hadzi-Dragan Antic of POLITIKA, Mile Kordic of POLITIKA EKSPRES, Rade Brajovic of VECERNJE NOVOSTI, Dragoljub Milanovic of Belgrade Television, Slavko Curuvija of BORBA, Momir Brkic of Belgrade Radio, Dragan Kojadinovic of Independent Television Studio B, and Aleksandar Tijanic of Politika Television.

Esteemed viewers, we are preparing a special program about the talk that the Serbian President had with the editors in chief of Belgrade media and this will be screened on the first channel this evening.

For Dnevnik 2 news, we have singled out the reply that the Serbian president gave to a question about our republic's relations and cooperation with the world.

[Begin recording] [Milosevic] You must understand one thing: This nation will never accept slavery and this nation wants to elect its authorities by itself and not to allow foreign countries to elect them for it. Whatever these authorities may look like, they will be elected and removed by this nation alone, and not by the Germans, the English, the Americans, or anybody else. This nation simply has no master in Europe, unlike some other peoples in the former Yugoslavia. Nor could it ever stand any masters. Even when it had masters temporarily, it did its utmost to see the back of them and, upon my word, none of them fared well. I am certain that it is out of the question that such key decisions may be made contrary to the will of the citizens of Serbia.

I must tell you, I am sometimes worried when major decisions depend on politicians. However, when major decisions depend on citizens, I sleep in peace. I am certain that citizens do not make mistakes in such matters; that, despite certain hesitations, pressures, and influences, they do not make mistakes.

As regards the other question about the extent to which peace is in the hands of the three sides, the key answer is that there will be peace to the extent to which it is in the hands of the three sides. There will be no peace if it is in the hands of people abroad. I am going to try to explain that very simply: The powers who wanted to break up Yugoslavia and who caused its breakup, who committed a crime against a UN member-country, violating all norms of international law, have the same aim today as they had at the time that they began the disintegration of Yugoslavia with all these moves of theirs, some of which I listed at the beginning.

This aim is to create a large number of small countries in the Balkans, which will have puppet governments formed under the influence of foreign factors, so that these powers may freely use the region of the Balkans which has huge significance for the development of the European economy and, therefore, great political significance as well.

Therefore, these forces do not want a single independent and autonomous country here that is its own master and a serious military and political factor in the Balkans. And we are the greatest military and political factor in the Balkans. Therefore, this concept of breaking Yugoslavia into several little states that will be ruled by some puppet governments was established at the very beginning and is still in force.

[Milanovic] Without Serbia's internal stability, the people would certainly not withstand the sanctions and such pressures. What, in your opinion, has a decisive significance in maintaining this internal stability?

[Milosevic] What is the condition for stability? The condition for stability is that Serbia must show, among other things, at these coming elections, that it is not vacillating as regards the policy of protecting its state and national interests. This is the best way to deter outside pressures and the aspirations on which these pressures are based. [end recording]

Milosevic Upbeat on Restoring Peace in Bosnia

LD0311180793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 3 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Nov (TANJUG)—I am sure that peace in Bosnia will be restored much sooner than many people in the world and here believe, Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic said this evening when talking to directors and editors of TANJUG and Belgrade papers and radio and television stations.

He added that when peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina is restored, the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will have to be lifted.

The president of the republic stressed that no important decision in Serbia can be passed against the people's will.

Our nation and the people they have elected to represent them are doing everything against the war in these regions. Our nation has never had and will never have foreign masters who can impose their will upon it. Our nation has never accepted such a thing, Milosevic said.

Arkan Threatens To Expel Albanians

AU03[illegible]1142493 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Nov 93 p 5

[Report by S.P. Stamatovic: "If I Win, Disloyal Albanians Can Start Packing"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade—[passage omitted] Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan, leader of the newly-formed Party of Serbian Unity stresses that Kosovo is an integral part of Serbia and "the holy Serbian land." He says that "for 50 years the communists settled Albanian immigrants there and forged a nation. The Albanians who are loyal and who look up to Belgrade, they are welcome and they can stay. But if I win power in Kosovo, everybody who looks up at Tirana will have to pack and move back to Albania." [passage omitted]

Arkan Biography

94BA0063C Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 18 Oct 93 pp 22-24

[Article by Filip Svarm: "Three Days in the Life of Arkan"]

[Text] *"We were surrounded on three sides, I wrote a farewell letter, I was hungry, and I hurt everywhere. They were no longer shooting at us, but somewhere over there. The shooting got weaker and weaker and they moved further and further away. Then Arkan rushed into the village with his Tigers. I was ashamed, because I shit my pants from fear, although I am a Serb. We were all grateful to him. That man saved us. He is crazy. He is the king. He is God. He is Popeye."* (From the book *Legenda za upucene* (*A Legend for the Well-Informed*)—the best stories from the Radio B92 contest for a war story from the territory of the former Yugoslavia).

The career of Zeljko "Arkan" Raznatovic, people's deputy, has all the elements of a present-day Serbian dream. Its ancient history begins on the asphalt of West European capitals: There are countless mythical stories about robbing banks, spectacular flights from the best-guarded prisons, how he could not be caught, Interpol warrants.... In all of them, Arkan is the "angel with a blackened face" who behaves according to the strict codes of his trade and out of "pure patriotism" is doing the state various favors against what at that time was the "hostile emigre community," and it is well-known that such services are not forgotten.

Then, as is normal, came a period of calm: He found a steady job (in this case, he opened a pastry shop), he established a family, he became involved in socially beneficial activities—he became the leader of the Delijas, the fans of Crvena Zvezda. This was the time immediately before the crash of the joint state from the Vardar to Triglav, when the fans were the first to clearly articulate the future national goals. Arguing that "the Serb has something no one has," the Delijas spread the "antibureaucratic revolution" all over the stadiums of Yugoslavia. Three years later, their leader at that time would declare that the war actually began at the famous last match between Dinamo and Zvezda in Zagreb.

Not long after that event, the first barricade sprang up in Krajina. Arkan, by his own admission to the Croatian authorities, went to Knin out of pure curiosity, and on his return he was arrested in Banija together with his fellow passengers in a car crammed with weapons. He spent six months in custody. He said that Ivan Zvonimir Cicak sent him a letter of support and, acting through the International Red Cross Committee, had a color TV brought to him from Belgrade. Then came the trial, in which he denied all the allegations contained in the indictment, he was defended by a team of elite lawyers, and after the verdict he was released while his appeal was pending. That same day, Arkan took off from Pleso for Belgrade in a small passenger plane as a political prisoner crowned with glory and a fighter for the Serbian cause.

Nothing, then, is more logical than his having crossed the Danube with his Tigers (a voluntary army formed from the Delijas) as soon as the shooting started in Croatia. He has been waging war mainly in eastern Slavonia, and assessments of his warmaking are contradictory: For some, he is a mythical hero, while for others an ordinary marauder and war criminal. Although his army, in the opinion of many, is one of the most disciplined in Yugoslav wars, the massacring of civilians and war prisoners is attributed to him. These and similar accusations (for example, theft on a huge scale) became particularly frequent after the Tigers became involved in Bijeljina and Brcko. Arkan denies all this, but he withdrew very early from the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is said to be because of a conflict with General Mladic, of whom he would later say that his order to shell Sarajevo is a crime.

In any case, Arkan is devoting himself to business, which in spite of the sanctions is doing better than good, and to politics. He is running for deputy to the Serbian Assembly in Kosovo and will be elected with four others who think like he does. There are two important things here; we know quite well of another political career that began in a "southern province" ("No one dared to beat you") and how many votes are needed there to become representative of the people. Arkan returned once more to the battlefield briefly—in January and February in Ravni Kotari after the offensive of the Croatian Army.

At the moment, Zeljko "Arkan" Raznatovic, people's deputy, is running the company DSG, a limited liability company, he is president of the Pristina Soccer Club, he is the agent for Dzej Ramadanovski ("The pirates

skinned me," Dzej says. "So, if you have the balls to do retakes, then also have the balls to be ready for someone to come along stronger than you.") and a very reputable figure. As we said at the beginning—the very personification of the Serbian dream at the moment.

Day One

Nevertheless, in spite of everything, for quite a long time Arkan has not been present in public, at least not in the ways from the days of his greatest glory. The moment for his grand return occurred in the session of the republic parliament in connection with the initiative of the Radicals to bring down the Sainovic government. Deputy Raznatovic took a conciliatory role between the two parties that had been fraternal up until then and are now at each other's throats. He called for unity in the difficult situation on behalf of Serbian concord and said that there are no reasons for the offensive things that were said from the Assembly rostrum. "You are accusing one another of being fascists," Arkan said, "and I know well that there are no fascists in Serbia if we omit those in Kosovo and Metohija and those up in Vojvodina. Fortunately, they have no representative here, and I hope that they will not." He also appealed to the simple parliamentary mathematics and announced that his group of citizens would not vote. That is, he was supposed to reproach someone, to incline toward one of the empires, but the state of affairs is such that Deputy Raznatovic is not in a position to allow himself that luxury. To stand unreservedly on the side of the government when the Serbian economy is breathing its last breath, when impoverishment is evident on all sides, is certainly not opportune. What is more, he would lose some of the sympathy west of the Drina where Vojvoda Seselj has undoubted influence. However, he has still fewer reasons to oppose the "head of the household of all of Serbia"; something like that in the situation at the moment could have consequences for his business and legal and judicial consequences, not to mention consequences of another kind.

But this is not the first time he has displayed a good political instinct. At one time, because of the refusal of the Bosnian Serbs to accept the Vance-Owen plan, a pan-Serbian assembly was convened to put pressure on them, they did not attend, and Arkan, along with the entire Serbian parliament, was present, but after Vojislav Seselj and his Radicals, he also left the meeting with his group, an act which he justified on procedural grounds. When his conversation with deputies in the parliament of the Srpska republic from Bijeljina is taken into account, in moments when there was a general conviction that Dr. Karadzic would nevertheless be forced to say "yes" and to cast his vote for the Vance-Owen plan, it is evident that the real objective of this act—to avoid giving offense and to hold positions—was completely realized. In other words, always stay on your own ground and with your own people.

Day Two

Arkan has been present not only in the Serbian Assembly, but also in a session of the Assembly of the RSK [Serbian Republic Krajina]. As he was crossing the state border, Belgian members of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] halted his escort in an attempt to control the border and the armed group crossing it, but seven Tigers disarmed them in a trice and gave them a slap. Just enough for them to know what Goran Hadzic's former adviser thinks about the Vance plan and Resolution 871. At that same time, official Belgrade was saying that no armed groups are crossing from the FRY into the Srpska republic or the RSK.

The conflicts between Mile Matic and Goran Hadzic, or, put better, between Knin and eastern Slavonia, culminated at the Assembly in Beli Manastir. That is, Hadzic is considered to be the long arm of Milosevic—he and his people from Baranja were the only ones to support the Socialists in their conflict with the Radicals. The Knin leaders, with only Martic remaining of the original comrades-in-arms, seem to believe ever more strongly with each passing day in the speculation that Belgrade will at some point turn them over to Croatia. In return, they would get removal of the sanctions plus eastern Slavonia (it is not of vital importance to Croatia) to boot. The Kninians look on Hadzic as someone whom Belgrade commissioned to get rid of the Krajina. His statement in which he speaks about eastern Slavonia in terms of "us," and about Knin Krajina in terms of "them," seems to back them up in that conviction. An occasion for renewing the attack on Hadzic was found in the debacle of the Army of Krajina during the last offensive of the Croatian Army in the Medak pocket. Charges being made against Krajina by the SRS [Serbian Radical Party] for war profiteering, wastefulness, and quite a few other things come on top of that. The size of the split is best indicated by the fact that this time Hadzic has been directly confronted by Mile Martic himself, a man whose authority in Knin is still beyond dispute.

An attack on Hadzic in and of itself directly means an attack on Arkan; the two of them are old partners since back in the first days of the war in Slovenia. It is even said that they have many business interests in common: for example, the petroleum monopoly. In any case, Arkan has been supporting Hadzic unreservedly, suggesting that Martic has dictatorial ambitions.

The Assembly in Beli Manastir ended in a stalemate. Hadzic tried to remove Martic, but the deputies "froze" that decision. It was nevertheless decided that UN Resolution 871 be rejected, and elections in the RSK scheduled for 21 November; finally, it will be evident whom the people support. The assessment is that Belgrade, which long opposed elections (the victory of Milan Babic and of his school, which is provisionally said to be "anti-Milosevic," is expected), has with its consent actually left Krajina once and for all to itself, more accurately, to coping on its own with Croatia, war,

the UN resolutions, and all the rest. It is also thought that with this unique sacrificing of Hadzic that Arkan's star will also begin to flicker out; the matter is being justified as one of the benevolent concessions to the international community. As far as Arkan himself is concerned, he supported the elections, he did not make himself very evident during the proceedings of the Assembly (he denies that at one point at the height of the conflict between Hadzic and Martic the Tigers and Martic's security marched into the chamber simultaneously), and he left the session to be in time for the soccer game between Pristina and Novi Pazar in Novi Pazar.

Day Three

Although the reports on the conflict never before recorded between fans in the FRY, if it can be called that, are still contradictory, there is every indication that it was inevitable. It should be realized, that is, that both teams are mainly monoethnic and for the communities from which they come they represent much more than just soccer. Pristina's front office came to Novi Pazar in nine of Arkan's luxury jeeps and parked by the stadium—many people in Novi Pazar interpreted this as a direct threat, making reference to the content of the bumper stickers. Soon afterward, two buses of Pristina fans arrived, and chaos began at that point; the visitors said that the home team fans threw rocks at them for no reason, while the hosts in turn said that the guests rushed into a part of the stadium without tickets and "trashed" everything they found there, and that some people even received knife wounds. In any case, the police created a corridor and what could be heard from the stands was war, only by other means. From one side came shouts "This is Serbia," "Arkan, our pride and honor," "Chetniks, prepare, be ready," and from the other "This is not Serbia," "We will kill the chetniks," "Alija, Alija." At the end of the game (the score, incidentally, was 1:1), rocks showered down on the section of the stands where Arkan was located, and his jeeps, which in the meantime had been reparked behind one of the goals, were moved to the very center of the field. The climax followed after the Pristina team left the stadium, in that the police managed to dispel the crowd of Novi Pazar people with tear gas and billy clubs, and along streets of the city the convoy of jeeps and automobiles was showered with rocks.

Safet Bandzovic, president of the Sandzak Human Rights Committee, judges that these events occurred because the people of Novi Pazar were irritated by Arkan's appearance, by his arrogant behavior and the behavior of his party. He believes that they are not interested in either Turkey or a jihad, but, having been provoked, they shouted everything that occurred to them. That certainly does not excuse them, he says, but he mentioned that he had the impression that the local police were also frightened by Arkan and his Tigers. "The day after the game," Bandzovic says, "the police began to 'mete out justice.' They literally grabbed minors out of schools and cafes, beat them, and let them go. Who are you going to complain to when they are all trembling before this man in the full sense of the word?"

In any case, the interpretation is rather widespread among Muslims in Novi Pazar that this conflict occurred exclusively to show to Arkan that they are not the Muslims of either Bijeljina or Trebinje. They say that not just they, but also Arkan and people who think like him must feel fear.

Conclusion

People's Deputy Zeljko "Arkan" Raznatovic is at the height of his career. Following the conflict between the Socialists and Radicals, there are those who think that after Seselj he is "next." He replies with a laugh that he is "here to stay." When you think about it, there is reason for his optimism. That is, so long as things in Serbia stay the way they are, and it is likely that there will be little change for the foreseeable future, it is realistic to expect that he will move up from people's deputy to minister, from commander of the Tigers to chief of the General Staff, or, why not, from president of the Pristina Soccer Club to president of the republic. Alongside Serbism, in the way that he and the current regime perceive it, nothing else is important.

Arkan Interviewed

94BA0063D Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 18 Oct 93 pp 24-25

[Interview with Zeljko "Arkan" Raznatovic, people's deputy, by F.S.; place and date not given: "Martic, Chase the Thieves"]

[Text] Asked to give VREME a brief interview on current political events in which he is one of the protagonists, People's Deputy Zeljko "Arkan" Raznatovic at first rejected the request. He said that the VREME newsman Milos Vasic had insulted him by saying that he is a "disgrace to the Serbian people," and that that was why he did not want to give the interview. But when he was offered the opportunity to say what he thinks about that newsman in VREME, Deputy Raznatovic changed his mind.

"In speaking about the war to a British TV station, your newsman Vasic mentioned me as a war criminal and at the same time said that I was a disgrace to the Serbian people," Arkan said. "I reply: That opinion of his is a disgrace to the Serbian people. Vasic, who has never seen me nor talked to me, makes that kind of statement for foreign television. That hit me. I understand that Serbs are saying all kinds of things about each other within the country, but that kind of statement on foreign television comes down to treason. I did not name your newsman Vasic because I think it is beneath my honor to talk to him. All I would be able to say to him is this: 'Listen, you bum, why aren't you ashamed?!'"

[F.S.] How do you evaluate the conflict between the Radicals and Socialists? Many people saw your statement in the Assembly as conciliatory.

[Arkan] The Radicals and Socialists have voted everything through together. They would elect bastards, as the people say, if one of them had nominated him. No one knows why the gap opened up between them. Now they are spitting on one another and accusing one another—this is uncivilized and primitive. The group of citizens to which I belong represents the center—we respect everyone, and no one can win us over. We will not vote either for the government or against it, we are not on anyone's side. We are simply a small group of deputies, why should we compromise ourselves? We favor Serbian concord, and we are against Serbian discord.

[F.S.] At the Assembly of the RSK [Serbian Republic Krajina] in Beli Manastir, there was an open conflict between Goran Hadzic and Mile Martic. It is well-known that your relations with Martic have not been good for a long time now....

[Arkan] The conflict between me and Milan Martic occurred when the Tigers came to Krajina in January. As the minister of internal affairs, Martic wanted to be the war commander. He tried to interfere with our plans. I told him then: "Milan Martic, go chase thieves and do traffic control. Do the job you were chosen for." Although he said that he took away our censor in Erdut and chased me out of Krajina, I have not said anything against him on behalf of the unity of the Serbian people. I have been looking the other way, but not anymore.

[F.S.] Why?

[Arkan] He insulted President Hadzic! He said that he is Degoricija's spy. No one who says that can be depended on. Hadzic is one of the leaders of the Serbian people. I compare him to Jovan Raskovic, and this offended me personally. I think the smartest decision Hadzic ever made in his life was to dismiss Martic. Martic is to blame for the Miljevci Plateau, for Zemunik, for all of Ravni Kotari. What is more, even General Mladic, who will always be a friend, told him: "What do you need with Arkan? He has taken over everything from you." I did not take anything over, nor am I interested in power in Krajina. I was already a people's deputy, and I was defending the Serbian people together with my people. In January, we prevented chaos. It should be concealed, not written that 2,000 men fled. I have pictures of how we caught them, lined them up, even beat some of them when it was necessary.

[F.S.] The people in Knin, however, reproach Hadzic for numerous things: his stay on Sveti Stefan, living it up in Novi Sad, not coming to Knin during the recent Croatian offensive, and so forth.

[Arkan] Hadzic spent only three days at Sveti Stefan. He went to Lake Karin, but nobody wrote about that. The apartment in which Hadzic lives in Novi Sad is not his. What is more, his six-year-old son has to go to the doctor every day. The house in which he lives in Pacetin is slightly better than a stable and is located 400 meters from the front line. He has not been to Knin, because an attempt on his life was being prepared. You know, people say that quite a few real Serbs have been killed by bullets that came "from the side." It all comes down to a story, but everything indicates Martic. Krajina would function if they made Martic commander of a police station or if he controlled one street in Knin. That is the extent of his reach.

It is said that Hadzic is wasteful. A dog would not know where to bite him! He has never put his hand in his pocket, he has never paid for anything. Forget it! His salary is between 7 and 9 German marks [DM]. He has no property. He has been consistent from day one. He is a real Serb: he goes to church, he respects the army, he is concerned about his family.... So he goes to the tavern, but you tell me what president has not been in a tavern!

[F.S.] There has been speculation recently that President Milosevic has given up on Krajina....

[Arkan] That is silly! Impossible! I do not believe that President Milosevic would betray the people in Krajina. I trust him absolutely.

[F.S.] So you have a high opinion of him?

[Arkan] That is not required of anyone. I respect the present president just as I will respect the next one. Let us understand one another, President Milosevic awakened Serbia. Until then, we were all Yugoslavs. I also was a Yugoslav, although in my heart I was a Serb. But I had a Yugoslav passport and was a Yugoslav. President Milosevic also woke me up. I do not have a fax machine. I am in the restaurant business. My university is the city street. I do not like intellectuals, they are a closed circle. I like the people because they are broad. I am constantly with the people and I can tell you that the people think that we should respect the cult of the president.

[F.S.] You are president of the Pristina Soccer Club. What is your comment on the statement by Jovan Popovic, a delegate to the Yugoslav Soccer Alliance, that Pristina's fans provoked the conflict in Novi Pazar?

[Arkan] Jovo Popovic spent the whole time sitting in the offices of the Novi Pazar Soccer Club, sitting across from a picture of "Comrade Tito." He wrote what they had told him. We arrived in Novi Pazar normally and were welcomed in a friendly way. We sat down to talk. Then two buses arrived with fans. The nationalists from Novi Pazar were provoked by the Serbian tricolors. They waited until the Pristina fans got out to buy their tickets and began to throw rocks at them from every direction. So that they did not get their heads broken, they fled into a part of the stadium. The story is not true that an ear was cut off. The chief of the SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs] and the commander of the security for the game told me that none of the Pristina fans had a knife. It all came down to rock-throwing. When it calmed down, the game and the rooting began. They shouted: "This is

Turkey," "Alija," "We will slaughter Arkan." Fifteen minutes into the game one of our backs was hit by a stone, and later the goalie Spajic as well. When the game was over, they went for our jeeps. We asked the president of the Novi Pazar Soccer Club if we could park them in the center of the field, and he said we could. When the police chased away the crowd, we got the green light to leave the stadium. But they lined up along the street and that is when the real rock-throwing began, and shots from firearms were also heard. The soccer players who were in the bus had to lie on the floor to protect themselves. Not a single car went undamaged, not to mention our jeep.

Macedonia

Inflation Reaches 12.1 Percent Per Month

AU0311195093 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 3 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Rise of the Inflation"—all figures as published]

[Text] According to Macedonia's Institute for Statistics, market prices in October are 12.1 percent higher than previous month's. The 6.5 inflation has "jumped" to 12 percent.

This is a result of increased prices of products of the food industry of approximately 14.4 percent. Consequently everyday expenses have gone up 13.9 percent. Considerably higher prices of bread and flour are to be expected soon.

European Human Rights Standards Seen as 'Paradox'

AU0311075093 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 22 Oct 93 p 15

[Report by Mirce Tomovski: "Strangers Among Their Own People"]

[Text] A week ago, Mr. Max Vanderstul, in the temporary absence of Gert Arens, visited Macedonia with the aim of, as he stated, "helping to establish interethnic relations." Vanderstul is a high commissioner of the CSCE, authorized to "monitor the situation and the development of interethnic relations" and help "avoid problems that might occur in this field." This is Vanderstul's second visit to Macedonia in four months. Just as in June, he had discussions this time with the top leaders of the state and with representatives of political parties.

There is undoubtedly a hope expressed in Max Vanderstul's contacts with the media: "The interethnic communities should live in harmony." Nobody doubts his position of high commissioner for minorities and ethnic groups—proof of which are his visits to Albania, Romania, and the former Eastern European countries. At the first session of the Council of Interethnic Relations he presented a plea for European standards for the rights and liberties of national minorities. All this activity should express the "great, important attention that the CSCE is dedicating to the national minorities."

However, regarding Macedonia, there is a paradox that would certainly tax Diogenes [Greek philosopher]. The CSCE is persistent in not accepting Macedonia as a full member, despite all the positive reviews of the Macedonian situation by its representatives, particularly regarding multiethnic relations! By doing that, the European association for collective security is constantly supporting the "dangerous situation" in the most sensitive part of Europe. By doing that, it is, in fact, supporting collective (in)security! That is why the stereotypical sentence uttered by the CSCE representatives that reads "A considerable number of CSCE members express their support for the reception of Macedonia as a full member" can only be understood as cynicism.

A short analysis of the advice given by experts on minority and ethnic questions are also advancing another paradox. The Macedonian Government is advised, in general, to "accept the rules of the game" of the members of the CSCE. The documents of Helsinki, Copenhagen, and Paris, are listed. The main part boils down to several points: The right and liberty to express ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identity; the protection of the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural rights of the national minorities; the promotion of their identity by creating conditions for the formation of religious, educational, and cultural institutions. Another brief analysis of the Macedonian Constitution will be seen as a kind of charter on the rights and liberties of nationalities, which their affiliates not only "quote without risk," but also experience! Therefore, how can one understand this flight from reality? Practically, with the help of abstract humanism, we are constantly subject to persuasion.

And, what are they trying to persuade us of? That interethnic relations can be the road to hell, that ethnic and social tensions represent a fuse, that only the civic model has a future. At the same time, the blockade is doing its job, assistance is coming in slowly. The political neighborhood maintains its constants regarding Macedonia. Does this constant maintenance of the "Macedonia freeze-frame" not look like a shot at the system of collective security in Europe? A state, a state member of the UN, is left for shooting, no matter where the bullet may come from—"inside" or "outside." [as published]

That we have been honored by counselors and councils is not to be underestimated. However, Ferid Muhic was right when he said, at the session of the Interethnic Council, that "interethnic conflicts are always viewed here." It would be politically naive to underestimate that, although, in a certain way, their culmination is in the past and they are now buried. Thanks to the Bosnian tragedy, but also to the tradition created in these territories that once again proved to be a modern ethnic model, in shaping the interethnic milieu, the people rejected confrontation and bursts of passion—as a way of life, as a culture, and as a habit.

For the sake of truth, however, this wisdom is not present within the political parties from the Albanian or Macedonian blocs, especially not within their extremes. In the negative background this subject is considered on duty. In their well-known style, they are permanently trying to prove to the numerous CSCE experts and other organizations that "the Macedonian is endangered," "the Albanian does not have rights," that each one of them "either does not feel at home" or "is a stranger among his own people." This political profiteering is only supporting the myth of the Balkans, the repetition of the archetypical structures....

The CSCE, and the other European institutions, are engaged only in the countries of the former Eastern Europe, former Yugoslavia, and now Macedonia.... And the Irish also belong to Europe, as well as the Basques with their long-lasting interethnic bad experience. For the time being, they are not being calmed down by any of the existing European or world models of multiethnic democracy. The reinforcement of the nationalist ideology in the middle of Europe, is now moving the ethnic factor toward the center of political events. Thus, the myth and the policy of civic Europe are shaken. And, maybe in commenting on the engagement of the CSCE representatives and the numerous visitors coming here to settle interethnic relations, the best explanation would be of the old cynic, the well-known colleague from the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, Viktor Meier, who said: "Simply, all those experts have nothing to do in the European institutions, therefore they go around spouting about human rights, national liberties, and minorities, repeating the same phrases and offering the same schemes for all possible ethnic environments, regardless of the political reality, tradition, culture.... They simply do not understand anything, they know nothing!"

Kosovo

Albanian Parties Set Terms For Solution

AU0211172893 Tirana ATA in English 0903 GMT 2 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 2 (ATA)—The announcement on the organization of an international conference for the global solution to the conflict in former Yugoslavia has made the solution to the Kosova question and the Albanian one in general, such as in Macedonia, eastern Kosova, Montenegro, and other regions, more relevant.

All parties from former Yugoslavia, that is, also from Kosova, are expected and required to be represented directly and equally in the new international conference, otherwise the failure of the London and Geneva conferences will be repeated.

The state and political subjects in Kosova stress that Kosova cannot be considered the same with the Serbian regions because Kosova is one of the eight constitutive subjects of former-Yugoslavia and it has its own Albanian historic, juridical, and ethnic integrity

Regarding the solution to the Albanian question in Macedonia, the Democratic Prosperity Party, one of the Albanian parties in Macedonia, in the context of the international conference, sets forwards several supplementary demands to be attached to a document proposed in the agreement between the Albanians in Macedonia and the Macedonian Government.

The Democratic Prosperity Party demands that the constitution of the Republic of Macedonia be changed according to the proposal of the Albanians and the latter be guaranteed the autonomy or a special status. The party demands that the Albanian language has the status of an official language, alongside the Macedonian one, in all the communes in which Albanians reside.

The other party which gathers Albanians in Macedonia, the People's Democratic Party, demands that for the period until the new international conference on former Yugoslavia, the Geneva Conference should give an opinion on the demands forwarded by the Albanians and exert pressure on the state organs of Macedonia to change the Constitution.

The Albanians in eastern Kosova—Presheve, Bujanovc, and Medvegje demand a solution to their question in the context of the results of the referendum they have held for political and territorial autonomy, with a right to unification with Kosova. The representatives of the Democratic Action Party have also raised this demand in the recent talks in Presheve with representatives of the government of rump Yugoslavia. They necessitated a political and territorial autonomy, also foreseen in the international norms, to meet the demands of the Albanians in this territory.

The Albanians residing in compact ethnic territories in Montenegro have as well their own definition on the solution to the question. They base their demands on the memorandum for special status— modern autonomy, approved by the Democratic Forum of the Albanians in Montenegro and which is supported by all the Albanian subjects in this republic.

Vojvodina

Ethnic Hungarians Issue Election Appeal

AU0411000893 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 1 Nov 93 pp 1,3

[Correspondent's report: "The Election Appeal of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK] also published its election appeal to the Hungarians living in Vojvodina. "In the course of three years, the Hungarians in Vojvodina are again facing elections for the fourth time. Embittered, reduced to poverty, under the pressure of Serbian authorities, and in the shadow of the war, we must again prove ourselves"—the appeal says. "We want to prove

that we have not broken down and we continue to demand the same, namely autonomy." The leadership of the organization points out that it regards autonomy as the guarantee for the preservation of national identity and survival. The leadership adds that the VMDK does not demand any border modification but, as part of the Hungarian nation, the Hungarians in Vojvodina want to conduct their affairs independently and to struggle for a real change in the regime together with the democratic forces, for this country to join Europe at long last. "In the course of three years, we achieved something, namely that Europe and the politicians of big powers that influence our fate have acknowledged our demands. If they do not want to accept historical responsibility for our dispersion, disappearance, and our expulsion, they cannot disregard our democratic struggle and our goals"—the VMDK Council pointed out and called upon the voters to participate in the elections despite the difficult circumstances, because "every vote in favor of the VMDK can be decisive for our survival."